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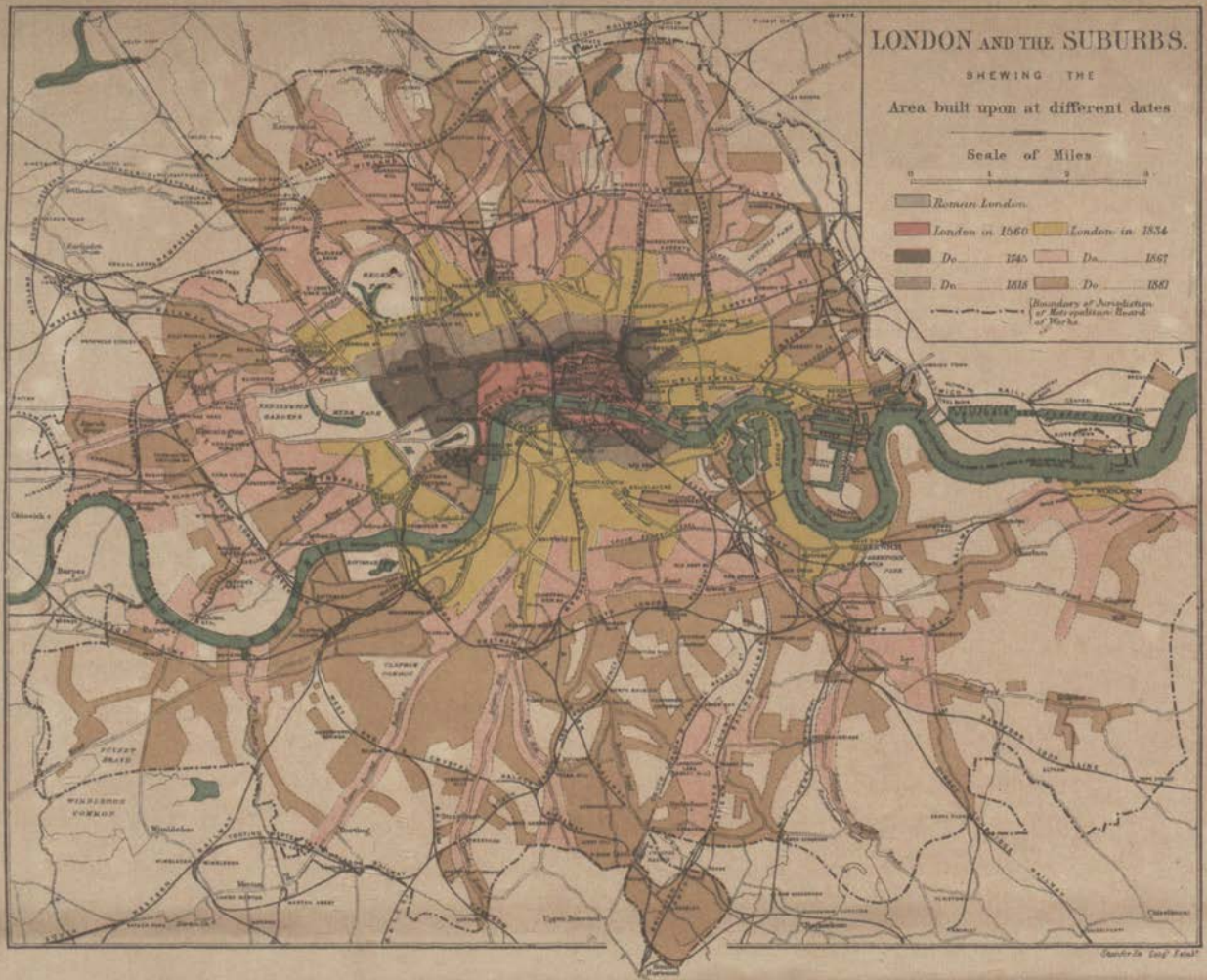
A SHORT HISTORY

OF THE

ENGLISH PEOPLE

VOL. IV


LONDON AND THE SUBURBS.
SHEWING THE
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London in 1560
London in 1834
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Boundary of Jurisdiction of Metropolitan Board of Works.

A SHORT HISTORY

OF THE

ENGLISH PEOPLE

BY

J. R. GREEN, M.A.

30850

ILLUSTRATED EDITION

EDITED BY MRS. J. R. GREEN AND MISS KATE NORGATE

VOLUME IV

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ENGRAVING ON TITLE-PAGE OF "MUSICK'S HANDMAIDE," 1663 1411

THE DUCHESS OF LAUDERDALE'S BOUDOIR, HAM HOUSE 1413

Ham House, Petersham, built by Sir Thomas Vavasour in 1610, was for a time the residence of Prince Henry, eldest son of James I. In 1643 Charles I gave it to his friend William Murray, whom he created Earl of Dysart. Title and house passed to Lord Dysart's eldest daughter, Elizabeth; from her first marriage sprang the family which still owns the place; her second husband was the too famous Duke of Lauderdale, and the state rooms at Ham, furnished and decorated by the Duke and Duchess, have remained unaltered ever since. The polished parquet floor of the boudoir is inlaid with the Duchess's monogram, E. D. L.; she and the Duke are said to have usually held their private talks seated in the two arm-chairs in the recess.

HAM HOUSE: THE CABAL ROOM 1414

In this room, which adjoins the boudoir, the Cabal ministry held its private meetings. Furniture and decorations remain exactly as they were then. The tapestry hangings represent rural scenes; they were made for the Duke of Lauderdale at the neighbouring tapestry works at Mortlake.

HAM HOUSE: THE LONG GALLERY 1415

JAMES, DUKE OF MONMOUTH (*picture by Lely at Dalkeith Palace*) 1417

BANNER USED BY THE COVENANTERS AT DRUMCLOG AND BOTHWELL BRIDGE (*Napier, "Memoirs of Dundee"*) 1418

Of blue silk, the inscriptions painted in gold, white and red. The Hebrew words are "Jehovah Nissi," *i.e.*, "The Lord is my banner."

SAMUEL PEPYS (*picture by John Hayls in National Portrait Gallery*) 1419

Pepys (born 1632, died 1703) was clerk of the Acts of the Navy, while James, Duke of York, was Lord High Admiral. The close relations into which they were brought by their offices served as a pretext for Pepys' imprisonment in the Tower in 1679 on account of the Popish Plot. Nine months later he was released and made Secretary to the Admiralty, a post which he kept till the Revolution. The portrait here given is mentioned by Pepys in his "Diary"; it was painted in 1666, and represents him holding in his hand a song of his own composition, "Beauty, retire," to which he frequently alludes.

FRANCIS NORTH, LORD GUILFORD, KEEPER OF THE GREAT SEAL, 1680 (*from an engraving by G. Vertue after David Loggan*) 1420

MEDAL OF THE DUCHESS OF PORTSMOUTH, 1673 1423

By John Roettier. The die is in the British Museum.

GEORGE SAVILE, VISCOUNT HALIFAX (*from Houbraken's engraving of a picture in the possession of Sir George Savile*) 1424

PARADE OF MILITIA AT ABERGWILI, 1684 (*from Messrs. Blades' facsimile of Thomas Dineley's "Progress of the Duke of Beaufort through Wales, 1684"*). 1426

MEDAL STRUCK TO COMMEMORATE SHAFTESBURY'S ACQUITTAL, 1681 . . . 1428

A rare silver medal, by George Bower: struck for Shaftesbury's partizans, who wore it on their breasts. Dryden thus describes it in a satirical poem entitled "The Medal":

> "One side is fill'd with title and with face;
> And, lest the King should want a regal place,
> On the reverse a Tower the town surveys
> O'er which our mounting sun his beams displays
> The word, pronounced aloud by shrieval voice,
> *Lætamur*, which, in Polish, is *rejoice*."

The title of "king" given to Shaftesbury, and the word "Polish," allude to a tale current among his enemies, that he had hoped to be elected King of Poland in 1674.

THE LORD MAYOR AND COURT OF ALDERMEN (*De Laune, "Present State of London,"* 1681) 1429

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FROST FAIR ON THE THAMES, 1683 1430

From a broadside (in the British Museum) entitled "God's Works is the World's Wonder." In 1683 the Thames froze so hard that a fair was held upon it.

LEAD AND COAL MINES AT MOSTYN, SOUTH WALES (*from Messrs. Blades' facsimile of Dineley's "Progress of the Duke of Beaufort"*) 1431

WILLIAM, LORD RUSSELL (*from an engraving by Pieter van der Banck, after Sir G. Kneller*) 1432

MONUMENT OF JOHN MARTIN, PRINTER 1434

In the crypt of S. Paul's Cathedral. The inscription contains some undecipherable words, but may be thus rendered: "Sacred to piety and to the republic of letters. Near this place lie (alas! alas!) the mortal remains of John Martin, late Warden of the . . . . Printers' Company of N. . . . ; a man famous even in foreign lands for the learned books which he published, but more illustrious at home for the highly honourable qualities of his mind. He expired on the third day of May, 1680, in the 72nd year of his age. Under here rest also his children, Henry and Mary. That this should not be unknown was the care of his faithful wife, Sara (daughter of) Henry Graunt, citizen and draper, who erected this monument to her worthy husband."

"THE ABOLITION OF MONARCHY." 1436

Frontispiece to the second volume of Nalson's "Collection of Affairs of State from 1639 to the Murder of King Charles I.," 1683. Some verses on the opposite page explain its meaning:

"Thus black look't Heav'n, the Lightning thus did fly,
Thus th' *Hurricane* orespred the British sky.

. . . . . .

When th' *Royal Sovereign* weather-beaten lay
On the proud Billows of the popular Sea;

. . . . . .

The *Captain* from his Cabin driven away
In that for ever execrable Day;

. . . . . .

From that adjacent HOUSE, behold the cause
Of all this Tempest, whence perverted Lawes,
Unpresidented, undetermin'd Power,
Blasted our Hopes, and did our Land devour,
A Land like that of *Canaan* heretofore;
Till, by mad Zeal into Confusion hurl'd,
'Twas made the Scorn and By-word of the World."

The chief value of the picture lies in the view which it gives of the exterior of the old House of Commons.

CORPORATION INSIGNIA OF COVENTRY (*Art Journal*) 1437

Coventry is unusually rich in corporation insignia, including, besides a sword and several maces, a chair of state, the town keys, and some remarkable robes of office. Practically they may be said to date from the seventeenth century, although, as they have all continued in use down to the present time, all have been restored or renewed more than once; in all these restorations, however, the old pattern has been faithfully adhered to. The great mace bears the initials of Charles II.; the smallest is of the same period; the third, intermediate in size, has the arms of the Commonwealth. The sword is two-edged, and bears the inscription, "Civitas Coventre." Above the large mace is the hat of the mace-bearer; at the foot of the chair is shown the sword-bearer's cap of maintenance. On the chair lie the town keys, and the hat of the city crier, more modern than the others, and dating probably from the eighteenth century. His coat hangs above; on the left sleeve is the only ancient badge which Coventry still possesses, of silver, and dating probably from about 1606.

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MACES, FIFTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES. 1438

The first two figures (from the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, 1888) are typical illustrations of the way in which the mace as a symbol of office was evolved out of the war-mace. When the mace was no longer wanted for fighting, its handle was first fashioned into a knob or boss to receive the royal arms; then the mace was turned upside down, the head became the handle, the flanges were converted into mere ornaments, and in course of time disappeared, and were replaced by a heavy boss, to counterbalance the weight of the head, which had meanwhile been growing in size, and to which a crown had been added. The first stage of this development is shown in the Southampton mace, where the flanged end still forms the head. In the Newtown mace the head is formed by the broad boss. The plate on the top of this bears the arms of Henry VII.; it is loose, and on its reverse are engraved the arms of the Commonwealth. The two Stamford maces (reproduced from the *Art Journal*) are fine examples of the complete development which the mace had reached in the time of Charles II.

ROYAL ORDER FOR THE EXPULSION OF JOHN LOCKE FROM CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD. 1439

Locke, knowing that he was suspected by the Government on account of his intimacy with Shaftesbury, went in 1683 to Holland. In November, 1684, the Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, was desired by Sunderland to remove Locke's name from the list of Students; a few days later came a peremptory order, in the King's name, which was at once obeyed, and which is here reproduced from the original, still preserved at Christ Church. It will be noticed that neither King nor minister seems to have even known the Christian name of the great philosopher. The conduct of Charles towards Locke strikingly illustrates the "danger" to English freedom which lay "in the character and purpose of Charles himself" (p. 1438).

ENTHRONEMENT OF JAMES II. AND HIS QUEEN (*F. Sandford, "History of the Coronation of James II,"* 1687) 1440

THE CHALLENGE (*Sandford, "Coronation of James II."*) 1442

The manor of Scrivelsby, co. Lincoln, had been held to carry with it the office of champion since the time of Henry I. at least, though there is no record of the actual ceremony earlier than the coronation of Richard II. At that of James II. the champion was Sir Charles Dymoke; he was "compleatly armed in one of His Majesties best suits of white armour, mounted on a goodly white horse, richly caparisoned." Two trumpeters, the sergeant trumpeter (carrying a mace), two sergeants-at-arms, the champion's two squires (bearing his lance and shield), and the York Herald, preceded him into the hall. On his right rode the Lord High Constable, on his left the Earl Marshal. The engraving here reproduced represents the first challenge to combat of any person who disputed the King's title. York Herald is reading the closing words of the challenge, and the gauntlet lies on the floor. After a pause it was taken up, the procession moved on, and the challenge was repeated in the middle of the hall, and then again at its upper end before the dais where sat the King and Queen. The only occasion when the challenge was taken up was the coronation of George III., when a Jacobite in woman's dress was said to have snatched up the gauntlet, and left another in its place. The ceremony was last performed at the crowning of George IV.

JAMES II. (*illumination on patent in Public Record Office*). 1443

BRIDGEWATER HIGH CROSS 1445

Now taken down; here reproduced from an engraving in the Proceedings of the Somerset Archæological Society. The Cross stood on Cornhill, opposite the entrance to the High Street, and was used as a market-place. On it was inscribed: "Mind your own business." Over it was a cistern supplied from a brook by an engine at Queen's Mill, and from this cistern water was conveyed to the streets. The cross was also used as a place of assembly. Monmouth was proclaimed king there, after he left Taunton, and his declaration read by the Mayor.

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SCYTHES FOUND AT SEDGEMOOR (*Tower of London*) 1446
Mounted on poles and used as weapons by the peasantry.

BATTLE OF SEDGEMOOR ("*Engelants Schouwtoneel verbeeldende het vlugte van Jacobus II. &c.*," *Amsterdam*, 1690) 1446

GEORGE JEFFREYS, LORD CHIEF JUSTICE (*from an engraving by R. White after Sir G. Kneller*) 1447

THE ROYAL HORSE GUARDS, TEMP. CHARLES II. 1448
From Hollar's engraving of the coronation procession of Charles II. The Guards were then commanded by the Duke of York, who is seen riding at their head.

MEDAL OF LOUIS XIV., COMMEMORATING THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES (*British Museum*) 1449

HOUSE OF A HUGUENOT SILK WEAVER IN ST. PETER'S STREET, CANTERBURY 1450
From a photograph. This is a typical illustration of the domestic silk-factories set up by the French Protestant refugees in England after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The shop-window occupies the whole front on the ground floor; over this is the living-room of the family, where the weaver wrought at his trade, assisted by his sons and daughters; higher still, in the gable, is a tall, narrow door with two valves, opening down to the floor of the attic, through which, by means of a small crane, raw material and bales of finished goods were drawn up to be stored in this warehouse on the top story.

A CALICO-PRINTER, TEMP. JAMES II. (*Bagford Collection, British Museum*) . . 1451

THE POPE RECEIVING THE AMBASSADOR OF ENGLAND, 1687 1452
In 1687 Roger, Earl of Castlemaine, was sent by James II. on a special embassy to Rome. Next year an authorised "Account" of his journey and reception was published in Italian and English, with this frontispiece and other illustrations, by Castlemaine's secretary, John Michael Wright.

TITLE-PAGE OF MISSAL 1454
From a photograph obtained through the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Stokes. This missal was given by James II. to John Brenan, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel. Brenan, as the inscription in his handwriting on the title-page shows, presented it to Cashel Cathedral (of which he had possession throughout James's reign, no successor having been appointed to the Protestant Archbishop Price, who died in 1685). Thence it passed with the books left by the next Protestant Archbishop, Narcissus Marsh, to the library of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, where it is now.

SATIRICAL PLAYING-CARD, TEMP. JAMES II. (*British Museum*) 1455

HALBERT (SEVENTEENTH CENTURY) FROM ROME (*Tower of London*) 1457

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD, IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (*picture in the College, painted temp. Charles I.*) 1460

THE SEVEN BISHOPS (*picture in National Portrait Gallery*) 1462

THE SEVEN BISHOPS GOING TO THE TOWER ("*Engelands Godsdienst en Vryheid hersteld door den Heere Prince van Oranjen*," *Amsterdam*, 1689) 1463

MEDAL COMMEMORATING VICTORIES OF DENMARK OVER SWEDEN 1464
Reverse of a gold medal, struck after a triple success gained at sea by the King of Denmark over Sweden, in 1677.

LOUIS XIV. AND OFFICERS OF HIS STAFF 1466
From the "Cabinet du Roy," *i.e.*, original engravings of the designs for the tapestry and other decorations at Versailles, made specially for Louis XIV.

CARDINAL MAZARIN (*miniature by Petitot, in South Kensington Museum*) . . . 1467

MARSHAL TURENNE (*miniature by P. Seuin, in same collection*) 1468

LOUIS XIV. (*from engraving by R. Nanteuil*, 1670) 1469

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LOUIS II., PRINCE OF CONDÉ (*miniature in South Kensington Museum*) 1470

JOHN DE WITT (*from an engraving by Lambert Vischer*) 1472

WILLIAM III. OF ORANGE WHEN A CHILD (*from an etching by L. Richeton, in the "Portfolio," of a picture by Rembrandt in the collection of Earl Spencer*) 1474

DUTCH MUSKET (*Tower of London*) 1475

The inscription means "True to Orange until death."

FRENCH PISTOLIERS AT THE STORMING OF AERDENBURGH, 1672 (*contemporary Dutch engraving*) 1476

The pistoliers here depicted show that the lock has been so far perfected as to admit of a piece being used easily with one hand. A formidable volume of fire was delivered on a given point by lines charging, halting, firing and wheeling in rapid succession. The French are said to have adopted this system of warfare from the Germans.

PALACE AT THE HAGUE; EXTERIOR 1478

PALACE AT THE HAGUE; COURTYARD 1480

These two views are from engravings published while William III. was Stadholder. The palace was the residence of the Princes of Orange, and in it were held the Sessions of the High Court of Justice, the Provincial Court of Brabant, and the States-General of the United Provinces.

THE SEVEN BISHOPS RETURNING FROM THE TOWER ("*Engelands Godsdienst, &c., hersteld*") 1482

SATIRICAL PLAYING-CARD, TEMP. JAMES II. (*British Museum*) 1483

WILLIAM OF ORANGE LANDING IN ENGLAND ("*Engelands Godsdienst,*" *&c*) . 1484

"THE PROTESTANTS' JOY" AT THE "GLORIOUS CORONATION OF KING WILLIAM AND QUEEN MARY" (*Ballad in Bagford Collection, British Museum*) 1488

GREAT SEAL OF WILLIAM AND MARY 1490, 1491

The art of seal-engraving, which had reached its perfection in England under the Commonwealth, had since the Restoration been gradually declining, both as to design and execution. This example shows that it was now fast approaching the lowest depth to which it sank under the House of Hanover.

KING WILLIAM III. (*picture by Kneller at Windsor Castle*) 1493

JOHN GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE, VISCOUNT DUNDEE (*picture in the possession of Lady Elizabeth Leslie-Melville-Cartwright* 1495

THE BATTLE-FIELD OF KILLIECRANKIE 1496

GLENCOE (*from a photograph*) 1497

JAMES II. LANDING AT KINSALE ("*Engelants Schouwtoneel,*" *&c.*, 1690) . . . 1499

THE WALLS OF LONDONDERRY (*after W. H. Bartlett*) 1500

Built 1609.

SIEGE OF LONDONDERRY ("*Engelants Schouwtoneel*") 1501

TABERNACLE AND CANDLESTICKS GIVEN BY JAMES II. TO CHRIST CHURCH, DUBLIN 1502

From a drawing very kindly made by Mr. Thomas Drew, R.H.A., specially for this book. The Cathedral of the Holy Trinity (commonly called Christ Church) was from the English invasion till 1870 the Chapel Royal of Dublin Castle. During the occupation of Dublin by James II., April, 1688—July, 1690, Mass was said in the Cathedral for the King. The tabernacle and candlesticks then used are preserved in the crypt; they were originally richly gilt and decorated. The ornamental cover of the ciborium was stolen many years ago, and is now in the Carmelite Church, Whitefriars Street.

LONDONDERRY EXCHANGE (*from print in British Museum*) 1503

The old Exchange was destroyed in the siege; William and Mary gave £1500 towards the building of the new one here represented.

MACE (IRISH), 1696 (*South Kensington Museum*) 1504

Made in 1696 by a silversmith named Martin, of Cork, for the Gilds of that city, but not bought by them, owing to a dispute about the price. The head is given here to show that in the time of Ireland's deepest desolation the Irish metal workers had yet lost nothing of the artistic feeling and manual skill which had characterised their race from the very beginning of its history.

WILLIAM III. IN PARLIAMENT (*from an engraving by Romeyn de Hooge*) 1506

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NONCONFORMIST CHAPEL, DEAN ROW, CHESHIRE (*Earwaker, "East Cheshire"*) 1508

Probably the oldest Nonconformist Chapel in the hundred of Macclesfield. It was built *c.* 1693, for a Presbyterian Congregation, whose minister was Eliezer Birch. It is now used by a congregation of Unitarians.

THE SOLEIL ROYAL (*Charnock, "History of Marine Architecture"*) 1510

The finest ship of the navy of Louis XIV., or of any navy in its day; built in 1690; carried 104 guns, and 1000 men. It was Tourville's flagship at La Hogue, and was burnt at Cherbourg by Admiral Delaval.

MEDAL COMMEMORATING RESTORATION OF CHARTERS TO TOWNS, 1690 . . . 1512

In January, 1690, a bill was passed to restore the rights of all towns which had lost their charters under Charles and James. As the inscription on the reverse of the medal says, "Privileges are restored, liberty revived."

LIMERICK FROM THE SEA (*drawing c.* 1685, *in British Museum*) 1513

CARRICKFERGUS (*drawing c.* 1680, *in British Museum*) 1513

ARMOUR WORN BY JAMES II. AT THE BOYNE (*Tower of London*) 1514

KING JOHN'S CASTLE, LIMERICK 1515

From a view by Bartlett, made before modern changes. The castle was really built by John; it is now used as barracks.

MEDAL COMMEMORATING FRENCH VICTORY AT BEACHY HEAD (REVERSE) . . . 1517

Represents a sea-fight—"The fight at Beves" [Beachy Head], "English and Dutch together put to flight, 10 July 1690;" in the foreground Louis XIV. is represented as Neptune, and the vanquished are sarcastically admonished—"Speed your flight; to him belongs the empire of the seas."

MONS IN THE 17TH CENTURY (*from a Dutch print*) 1518

THE BATTLE OF LA HOGUE (*from an engraving by Romeyn de Hooge*) 1520

MEDAL COMMEMORATING VICTORY AT LA HOGUE (REVERSE) 1521

William's reply to Louis's medal for Beachy Head (see above, and p. 1517). William, as Neptune, drives away Louis, the pseudo-Neptune, with his trident, saying "To me it" [*i.e.*, the empire of the seas] "is given by Fate"—"The offences committed are expiated by a like punishment."

ROBERT SPENCER, SECOND EARL OF SUNDERLAND (*from an engraving by R. Cooper of a picture by Carlo Maratta at Althorpe*). 1524

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE STORMING OF TOUBOCAN, 1700 1527

A gold medal, given by the African Company of Scotland as a reward to Alexander Campbell, who, at the head of 200 men whom he had commanded in Flanders, drove 1,600 Spaniards from their entrenchments at Toubocan on the Isthmus of Darien, and thus for a time delivered the Scottish settlers from danger. The obverse represents a Highlander scaling a fortress, with the words: "What not for our country?" "Toubocan, where Captain Alexander Campbell defeated 1,600 Spaniards, 8th February, 1700." The reverse bears the shield of the African and Indian Company of Scotland, with the legend: "Whithersoever the world extends. Strength united is stronger."

THE MINT, BRISTOL (*Seyer, "Memorials of Bristol"*) 1528

In 1696 a new coinage was ordered. A tax was laid upon windows to defray its expenses; and in order that it might be the sooner ready, mints were set up at Chester, York, Bristol and Exeter. At Bristol a "sugar-house" behind S. Peter's Church was bought and fitted up for the purpose; £450,000 was coined there in 1696-7; then the house was bought by the Guardians of the Poor, "therein to employ the poor and youth of this city in spinning and weaving cotton." Thenceforth its proper title was S. Peter's Hospital, but its older name of the Mint still clung to it in popular speech in the early years of the present century.

MARLBOROUGH (*drawing by Kneller, in British Museum*) 1530

SILVER CALL-WHISTLE 1531

Used to summon a household before the introduction of bells. This whistle is English work of the 17th century; it was dug out of a hedgerow at Reigate in 1854, and it is the property of Lord Zouche, by whose kind permission it is reproduced here.

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MEDAL COMMEMORATING FIRST PARTITION TREATY 1533
The enclosure in which hangs the Golden Fleece is guarded by a dragon, representing William III.; legend, "Watchful, he disappoints the greedy one." On the reverse, William, Lewis, and three other allies join hands over an altar inscribed, "to Jupiter, guardian of boundaries;" the legend runs, "Agreement of sovereigns for public safety."

DUTCH GUARDS, TEMP. WILLIAM III. 1534
From an engraving by Romeyn de Hooge, in "Relation du Voyage de S. M. le roi d'Angleterre en Hollande," the Hague, 1692. These foot-soldiers are armed with muskets; the collar of bandoliers, or little cylinders containing charges of powder, may be seen suspended from the shoulder. William's Blue Guards marched across St. James's Park with lighted matches to take possession of St. James's Palace, December 17th, 1688.

MEDAL COMMEMORATING HOMAGE OF DUKE OF LORRAINE TO LEWIS XIV. 1699 (REVERSE) 1535

MEDAL COMMEMORATING OFFER OF THE CROWN OF SPAIN TO THE DUKE OF ANJOU, 1700 (REVERSE) 1535

SATIRICAL PLAYING-CARD (*British Museum*) 1536
One of a pack designed under Queen Anne. The Duke of Anjou is represented stealing the Spanish Crown.

JOHN DRYDEN (*picture by Sir G. Kneller*) 1537

SOPHIA, ELECTRESS OF HANOVER 1539
Reverse of a medal struck in commemoration of the Act of Settlement, 1701. The obverse bears another female head, meant to represent Matilda, Duchess of Saxony, daughter of Henry II., through whom the Electors of Hanover were descended from the old royal house of England.

ENSIGN JOHN CHURCHILL (AFTERWARDS DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH) 1540
From an engraving (in the British Museum) thus inscribed: "Mr de Marleborough tel qu'il était en 1668, quand il servait en qualité d'enseigne dans le Régiment des Gardes françaises. Gravé d'après Van der Meulen."

JOHN CHURCHILL, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH (*picture by J. Closterman in National Portrait Gallery*) 1542

SARAH, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH (*picture by Sir G. Kneller, in National Portrait Gallery*) 1543

MEMORIAL OF WILLIAM III. (*British Museum*) 1544
An unique gold medal, formerly in the possession of the Scott family, of Ballingarry, *co.* Tipperary, to whose ancestor land was granted in Ireland for his services at the Boyne. The obverse, which bears a portrait of William, is cast and chased; the reverse, representing the Irish harp and some military emblems, is engraved.

SATIRICAL PLAYING-CARD 1547
A satire on Marlborough's known avarice and alleged peculations; one of the same pack as the card given in p. 1536.

RUNNING FOOTMEN 1548
Reproduced for the first time, by kind permission of the Duke of Marlborough, from tapestry at Blenheim Palace, made for the first Duke. This illustration and that on p. 1552 are taken from the tapestry which represents the battle of Blenheim. The figures of the footmen who ran in front of the carriage are of special interest as features of domestic life, as no similar figures occur in pictures of the time.

EUGENE AND MARLBOROUGH RECONNOITRING (*from an engraving by Camsvelt*) . 1549

THE BATTLE OF HOCHSTÄDT (*from an engraving by J. van Huchtenburg*) . . . 1550

SURRENDER OF MARSHAL TALLARD (*reproduced for the first time from tapestry at Blenheim Palace*) 1552

"MALBOROUK" 1554
From a broadside in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. This illustration of the French popular song "Malborouk s'en va-t-en guerre," dating from the early part of the present century, witnesses to the persistence of the Marlborough legend.

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CHARLES MORDAUNT, EARL OF PETERBOROUGH (*from a mezzotint by J. Simon of a picture by M. Dahl*) 1557

MEDAL COMMEMORATING VICTORY OF RAMILLIES 1558

A very rare bronze medal; reproduced here from an engraving in the *Metallic History of William III., Anne,* &c., published in 1747, to illustrate Rapin's *History of England.* The obverse represents the victory—"French, Bavarians, and Spaniards captured, destroyed, or put to flight all in one battle at Ramillies, 1706"; round the edge is written: "May 23. Ill-gotten gains are not enjoyed by the third generation." The reverse represents "Brabant and Flanders restored to their lawful ruler by the alliance of England and Holland." The encircling legend runs: "They shine with stainless honours. Under this commander I preserve my country; with him" [*i.e.* Marlborough] "for my leader, I maintain the King."

SECOND GREAT SEAL OF ANNE, 1707 . . . . . 1560, 1561

The first seal of Great Britain. On the obverse is the Queen enthroned, with the emblems of her three kingdoms; on the reverse, the union just accomplished between two of them is commemorated in a wholly new design, the figure of Britannia.

JOSEPH ADDISON (*picture by Sir Godfrey Kneller*) 1563

Addison entered the Ministry in 1706 as Under Secretary of State. In 1709 he became Secretary to Lord Wharton, when the latter was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (see p. 1565). He was also made Keeper of the Records, but lost his office at the fall of the Whig Ministry in 1710.

ENGLISH SQUADRON CARRYING TROOPS TO TAKE POSSESSION OF DUNKIRK ("*History of Queen Anne,*" 1740) 1564

THE BATTLE OF MALPLAQUET (*from the same*) 1566

DESIGNS FOR PLAYING-CARDS, 1710 (*British Museum*) 1567, 1568, 1569

From a sheet of designs for twenty-six cards, evidently made in 1710. The first card here reproduced shows Sacheverell in his coach and the crowd cheering him; the second represents the newly-elected members for London addressing their constituents in the Guildhall; in the third the Queen is receiving an address from the new Parliament which met in November 1710.

HENRY ST. JOHN, VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE (*picture by Kneller, at Petworth*) . 1571

ROBERT HARLEY, EARL OF OXFORD (*from an engraving by J. van Huchtenburg*) 1572

EMBLEMS OF THE SILVERSMITHS' CRAFT, c. 1700 (*Bagford Collection, British Museum*) 1573

By Robert White, who died 1704.

INVITATION TO A MEETING OF THE GOLDSMITHS' COMPANY, 1707 (*same collection*) 1574

ADVERTISEMENT OF JOHN MARSHALL, OPTICIAN, 1694 (*same collection*) . . . 1575

ADVERTISEMENT OF JOHN HEATON, 1709 (*Crowle collection, British Museum*) . 1576

John Heaton was a maker of agricultural implements. The curiosity of his advertisement consists in its having been printed on the frozen Thames, like the picture of "Frost Fair" in 1683, given in p. 1430.

PRINTING-OFFICE, c. 1710 (*Bagford Collection*) 1577

CRIES OF LONDON, 1688—1702 . . . . . 1578, 1579, 1580, 1581

From *Cryes of the City of London,* engraved by Pierce Tempest from drawings by Marcellus Lauron (or Laroon) the elder, who died in 1702. The first edition was published in 1688; the British Museum copy, from which these reproductions are made, dates from 1711.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE (*picture by J. B. van Loo, in National Portrait Gallery*) 1583

THE SIX LORDS PLEADING IN WESTMINSTER HALL 1585

LORD NITHSDALE'S ESCAPE 1586

These two illustrations are parts of a contemporary broadsheet, representing the events of the Jacobite rising in 1715–16. The six lords—Derwentwater,

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Nithsdale, Carnwath, Kenmure, Widdrington, and Nairne—who surrendered at Preston in November 1715 (see p. 1586), were impeached in Parliament, and condemned to death in February 1716. Derwentwater and Kenmure were beheaded, February 24; Nithsdale's wife visited him in prison on the previous night, changed clothes with him, and thus effected his escape.

CRIES OF LONDON (*Tempest and Lauron*, 1688—1702) 1587, 1588, 1589, 1590

TRADE LABEL OF THE SOUTH SEA COMPANY (*Guildhall Museum*) 1591

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR, 1727 1593

A very rare bronze medal. Obverse: "Gibraltar besieged, 22nd Febr., 1727. To conquer or to die." Reverse: "But there is given a third course, less perilous—to go away"; a sarcastic allusion to the withdrawal of the Spanish besiegers (see p. 1594).

JONATHAN SWIFT, DEAN OF S. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN (*from an engraving by E. Scriven, after F. Bindon*) 1595

ALEXANDER POPE (*picture at Chiswick House*) 1596

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN WALPOLE'S ADMINISTRATION (*from A. Fagg's engraving of a picture by Hogarth and Thornhill*) 1598

The chief persons represented are Walpole, Speaker Onslow, Sydney Godolphin, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Colonel Onslow, Edward Stables (clerk of the House), Sir James Thornhill (the painter), and Mr. Aiskew (clerk-assistant).

"IN PLACE" (*satirical print*, 1738, *in British Museum*) 1600

The age of political caricature began in England under George II., and instead of the half-emblematical satires, chiefly Dutch, which were common in the preceding century, we now have a series of real caricatures by English artists. After the Revolution of 1688, the progress of the art of engraving made possible the effective production of caricatures, and from the time of George II. a number of artists were actively employed in satirizing political intrigues. Walpole is here represented turning away from Jenkins, who shows his severed ear (see p. 1601). Opposite Walpole sits a lady (probably his wife) receiving a box of jewels from a Frenchman (an allusion to Walpole's alleged secret intelligence with France). In the foreground a man burns a number of *The Craftsman* in which Walpole's Bill for licensing the stage had been attacked. A courtier pushes away a merchant holding a memorial on "Spanish Depredations," and a pet dog tears the "Merchants' Complaint." In the next room a man pours "£10,000" through a gridiron into the "Sinking Fund"; and in the distance, through the open door, an English ship is seen defeated by a Spanish one.

"THE MOTION" (*satirical print*, 1741) 1602

Inside the coach, crying, "Let me get out," is Lord Carteret, who had moved in the Lords a resolution "that Sir R. Walpole should be dismissed from his Majesty's presence and councils for ever." The driver is the Duke of Argyll, represented with a flaming sword for a whip, because he had supported the motion with such vehemence that his speech alarmed his own party, and nearly defeated its own object. Between his feet is a dog, "Bub," *i.e.*, Bubb Doddington, an obsequious follower of the Duke. The postillion is Lord Chesterfield, the footman Lord Cobham. The bishop who bows to the carriage is Smalbroke, of Lichfield. The man dropping the "Place Bill" is Mr. Sandys; he had introduced in the Commons a motion for removing Walpole, and he here seems to ascribe its failure to the rash violence of Argyll. Pulteney, the leader of the Opposition, is seen leading his followers by the nose.

MEDAL COMMEMORATING CAPTURE OF PORTOBELLO, 1739 1603

ACTION AT CARTHAGENA (*engraving*, 1741, *from drawing by H. Gravelot*) . . . 1604

STATE LOTTERY, 1739 (*contemporary print in British Museum*) 1606

A State Lottery, the earliest of a long series, was set on foot by Act of Parliament in 1737, to raise money for building a bridge at Westminster. The drawing of the lots began on 10th December, 1739, in Stationers' Hall; the hall here represented, however, appears to be the Guildhall. The Govern-

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ment commissioners superintending the lottery sit at the table on the platform. Behind them are two closed lottery-wheels, under the table is a wheel in use; four secretaries sit at a lower table. According to a practice which became usual, the lots are being drawn by boys of the Blue-Coat School.

CHAINED LIBRARY, ALL SAINTS CHURCH, HEREFORD (*Blades, "Bibliographical Miscellanies"*) 1607
Interesting as the latest example of a chained library. The books (285 volumes) were bequeathed to the parish by Dr. W. Brewster in 1715; they fill three shelves along two sides of the vestry. The chains were evidently copied from those in the neighbouring cathedral library.

THE VICAR OF THE PARISH RECEIVING HIS TITHES 1608

THE CURATE OF THE PARISH RETURNING FROM DUTY 1609
From engravings, 1793, by T. Burke, after pictures by H. Singleton.

READING POOR-HOUSE (*Coates, "History of Reading"*) 1610
Built in 1727.

FROME SCHOOL AND BRIDGE (*drawing in British Museum*) 1611
This school was built in 1720.

DEAN BERKELEY, HIS WIFE, AND FELLOW-MISSIONARIES (*picture at Yale College*) 1612
In 1728 George Berkeley (then Dean of Derry, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne) sailed with his wife, her friend Miss Handcock, Sir James Dalton, Mr. John James, and Mr. John Smybert, to found a missionary college in [illegible]. Bermuda was the place fixed upon, but the home government failed to give Berkeley the support which it had promised him, and three years later he went back again, having never got further than Rhode Island. It was there that Smybert painted this picture. Berkeley stands on the spectator's right; next him sits his wife with one of their children in her lap; beside her sits Miss Handcock; James stands behind them; Dalton is seated at the table, writing; behind him stands Mr. Moffat, a friend of Smybert's, and furthest to the left is Smybert himself.

GEORGE WHITEFIELD (*picture by Nathaniel Hone*) 1613

JOHN WESLEY (*picture by William Hamilton, in the National Portrait Gallery*) . 1615

SCHOOL (*from T. Faber's engraving of a picture, 1739, by P. Mercier*) 1617
The subject of this picture is English, although the style of treatment is French. Philippe Mercier was a Frenchman by birth, but he lived and worked in England.

SAMUEL JOHNSON (*from an engraving by Finden*) 1618

HANNAH MORE (*picture by Opie, 1786*) 1619

JOHN HOWARD (*picture by Mather Brown, in the National Portrait Gallery*) . . 1620

MEDAL COMMEMORATING BATTLE OF DETTINGEN 1622, 1623

PIPER IN HIGHLAND REGIMENT (*Grose, "Military Antiquities"*) 1625

SOLDIERS IN HIGHLAND REGIMENT (*from the same*) 1626

MEDAL COMMEMORATING BATTLE OF CULLODEN 1627

FORT WILLIAM (*old print in British Museum*) 1628

THE MOGUL EMPERORS (*miniature at Windsor Castle*) 1630

A FRENCH CANADIAN (*Bacqueville de la Potherie, "Histoire de l'Amérique septentrionale," 1722*) 1632
The inscription in the corner explains that this man is "going out over the snow to war."

"HABITATION DE L'ILE STE. CROIX" (*Champlain, "Voyages," 1613*) 1633
This "habitation," founded in 1604, was the earliest French settlement in Acadie. The island, now called Douchet, lies at the mouth of the river Ste.-Croix.

FREDERICK II., KING OF PRUSSIA AND ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG (*from an engraving in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*) 1635

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GREENWICH HOSPITAL 1636

The English kings had long had a residence at Greenwich when Charles II., in 1664, resolved to build there a new palace, which was begun by Inigo Jones, but never completed. James II. wished to convert the building into a hospital for disabled seamen; Mary eagerly desired to commemorate the great victory of La Hogue (1692) by carrying out her father's project, and after her death (1694) William took it up no less eagerly as a memorial of her. Wren drew the plans and superintended the work without charge, saying, "Let me have some share in a work of mercy." His designs were hampered by the necessity of adapting them to the existing work of Inigo Jones, which Mary had desired to retain untouched; but the result was a triumph of Wren's genius. The effect of the whole group of buildings, seen from the river, is extremely fine, and it evidently formed in Wren's mind part of a grand scheme for giving a worthy approach to the capital, where he was already embellishing the Tower and erecting the new cathedral of S. Paul's, and which he had proposed to rebuild entirely according to a design still in existence, though never carried into execution. The view here given shows the hospital as Wren left it, with the road originally reserved from the Thames up to the "Queen's House" (at the rear of the hospital), built by Inigo Jones for Anne of Denmark and Henrietta Maria. King Charles's building forms the west wing; behind it is "King William's building," erected 1696–8; opposite to this is "Queen Mary's building," begun in 1702, finished in 1752. The east wing (fronting Charles's building) is known as "Queen Anne's building," and was begun in 1698, but not completed till after Anne's death; it was here that Admiral Byng was confined after his disgrace in 1756 (see p. 1635).

AN ELECTION ENTERTAINMENT, 1755 (*picture by W. Hogarth*) 1638

WILLIAM PITT (*picture by Hoare*) 1639

SWORD-BEARER AND MACE-BEARER OF THE CITY OF LONDON (*map of London, 1726, in Crace collection, British Museum*) 1641

MARDOL STREET, SHREWSBURY (*Owen and Blakeway, "History of Shrewsbury"*) 1642

A good example of the houses which the "great middle class" in the country towns were beginning to build for themselves in Pitt's time.

TOWN-HALL, CARLISLE (*Nutter, "Carlisle in the Olden Time"*) 1643

From a drawing c. 1780; showing the Mayor's procession. The hall itself was built in the reign of Elizabeth.

WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM (*picture by Richard Brompton, in the possession of Earl Stanhope, at Chevening*) 1645

SURAJAH DOWLAH (*miniature in the India Museum*) 1647

MEDAL COMMEMORATING BATTLE OF PLASSEY 1648

A Society for promoting Arts and Commerce, founded in 1754, caused medals to be struck on various occasions, as an encouragement to art. The first of these was the medal here reproduced, struck by Thomas Pingo in 1758.

MEDAL COMMEMORATING BATTLES OF ROSSBACH AND LEUTHEN 1649

A brass medal, illustrating English feeling towards Frederick and Maria Theresa. The obverse bears a head of Frederick; on the reverse he brandishes his sword over the head of the kneeling queen.

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE BATTLE OF MINDEN 1650

A rare brass medal. The obverse represents the opening of the battle by an attack on the village of Dodenhausen; the reverse shows the victor, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, on horseback, with his camp in the background.

A VIEW OF THE CITY OF QUEBEC IN NEW FRANCE IN AMERICA" . . . 1651

From a drawing signed "Margaret Cecil, 1740," in the British Museum; interesting as the work of an Englishwoman who had somehow visited Quebec while it was still in French hands.

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MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG AND CAPE BRETON . 1652
Brass; rare, because of inferior workmanship, and thought at the time not worth preserving. The design is, however, more interesting than those of some much finer medals issued on the same occasion, as the one side bears a head of Admiral Boscawen and the other a curious little view of Louisburg harbour and fort.

GENERAL WOLFE (*picture by Schaak, in National Portrait Gallery*) 1653

THE CAPTURE OF QUEBEC (*contemporary print*) 1654

MEDAL COMMEMORATING SUCCESSES OF 1759 1655
Bronze; an illustration of the feeling towards Pitt. The reversed lily symbolizes the defeat of France; the lion and the horse are the emblems of England and Hanover; the list of the year's triumphs, with the names of the victorious commanders, is grouped around the name of the leader to whom all these successes were ascribed, "William Pitt, Prime Minister, under the auspices of George II."

FIGHT BETWEEN THE "CENTURION" AND A MANILLA SHIP (*Harris's "Voyages"*) 1656
In 1740 an English squadron commanded by George Anson was sent to attack the Spaniards in the South Seas. It sailed round the world; one of the great exploits of the expedition was the fight which took place off Macao, 21st June, 1743, between Anson in the "Centurion" and the great Spanish ship which traded between Manilla and Acapulco, and which was captured by Anson.

NORTH AMERICAN TRADERS AND INDIANS (*Gauthier and Faden's Map of Canada*, 1777) 1657

SHAH ALLUM, MOGUL OF HINDOSTAN, REVIEWING EAST INDIA COMPANY'S TROOPS 1658
From a picture painted in India in 1781, for Sir Robert Barker, by Tilly Kettle; now in the possession of Mr. Robert Webb, who has kindly allowed it to be reproduced for the first time here. The Mogul is reviewing the third brigade of the Company's troops, from a state tent, on the plain of Allahabad; an officer of Sepoys is explaining to him the manœuvres.

CAPTAIN COOK (*from Sherwin's engraving*, 1784, *of a picture by N. Dance*) . . 1660

MAP OF THE COLONIES OF NORTH AMERICA AT THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE . . . . . *to face* 1661

WILLIAM PENN (*picture in National Museum, Philadelphia*) 1661

PINE-TREE SHILLING OF MASSACHUSETTS 1662
In 1652 Massachusetts set up at Boston a mint of its own, which issued coins bearing for device an American pine-tree. Charles II. on his restoration was very angry at this infringement of his royal prerogative, but Sir William Temple appeased his wrath by assuring him that the tree was meant for the Royal Oak, and thus symbolized the loyalty of Massachusetts at a time when England itself was in rebellion.

NEW AMSTERDAM (*N. J. Visscher's Map of New England and New Belgium, mid 17 Century*) 1662
New Amsterdam was the original name of the town which, when transferred to British rule, became New York (see p. 1661).

"A PROSPECT OF THE COLLEDGES AT CAMBRIDGE IN NEW ENGLAND" (*American print*, c. 1739). 1663
These are the three old halls of Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts. On the left is the original Harvard Hall, founded by John Harvard in 1650 and completed in 1675; the middle building is Stoughton Hall, founded by William Stoughton in 1699; on the right is Massachusetts Hall, added in 1720.

GEORGE III. (*picture by Allan Ramsay, in National Portrait Gallery*) 1666

STATE COACH (BUILT 1762) OF GEORGE III. (*South Kensington Museum*) . . 1667

FREDERICK THE GREAT (*print in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*) 1669

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THE TSCHUDI FAMILY 1670

Burkhardt Tschudi, of an old Swiss family, came to England in 1718, and founded in 1732 the famous business of J. Broadwood and Sons, the oldest business devoted to key-board instruments in the world, and the oldest of any kind in England that is still carried on in the very house where it was first started. That house, known in Tschudi's time by its sign of "The Plume of Feathers" (adopted under the patronage of the then Prince of Wales), is now No. 33 Great Pulteney Street, the piano factory of Messrs. Broadwood. The picture here reproduced belongs to Mr. J. H. Tschudi Broadwood, Tschudi's great-great-grandson, who has kindly allowed it to be photographed for this book. The painter is unknown. The group consists of Tschudi, his wife and his two sons, one of whom continued the business in partnership with his brother-in-law, John Broadwood. The harpsichord Tschudi is tuning was presented by him to Frederick the Great in 1744-5, after the battle of Prague (see p. 1623), when Frederick became the Protestants' great hero, Tschudi being a zealous Protestant. Mr. A. J. Hipkins, the writer of the articles on key-board instruments in the *Dictionary of Music*, has been unable to discover this harpsichord in Berlin or Potsdam, but he there identified two other harpsichords which Frederick purchased from Tschudi in 1766 for his new palace at Potsdam. In 1773, the last year of Tschudi's life, a harpsichord made by his firm was presented by the Prussian King to Maria Theresa, and another to the Empress Elizabeth of Russia, as tokens of reconciliation; these Empresses, with Madame de Pompadour, had been Frederick's great enemies, and as such he had set their statues on the façade of his Potsdam palace.

THE MANSION HOUSE, LONDON 1673

This and the next two illustrations are from pictures by Samuel Scott, c. 1750, in the Guildhall Art Gallery.

LONDON BRIDGE AND DYERS' WHARF 1674

THE FLEET RIVER 1675

"THE CITY CHANTERS" (*from an engraving by S. Okey, 1775, of a picture by John Collett*) 1679

An illustration of the "Wilkes and Liberty" excitement.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (*Medallion by Nini, in the National Portrait Gallery*) . . 1681

BRITISH STAMPS FOR AMERICA (*Harper's Magazine*) 1682

EDMUND BURKE (*picture by Reynolds, in National Portrait Gallery*) 1683

SATIRICAL SKETCH OF BURKE, by Sayer, 1782 1684

"THE ASTONISHING COALITION—NEITHER WAR NOR PEACE" 1685

A satirical but characteristic sketch by James Gillray, the great caricaturist of this period. The occasion of the sketch was the union of Burke and Fox with Lord North, to whom they had been opposed, in denouncing the Shelburne ministry of 1783, which their coalition brought to ruin. This and the preceding drawing are given to illustrate the effect produced by Burke's vehement and impassioned manner.

WILKES BEFORE THE COURT OF KING'S BENCH (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1768) . 1688

FRONTISPIECE TO THE MIDDLESEX PETITION, 1769 1690

The petition was from 1565 freeholders of Middlesex, protesting against the "despotic counsellors" to whom was attributed the violation of constitutional rights in the matter of Wilkes's election. The frontispiece, here reproduced from a copy in the British Museum, represents a deputation presenting the petition to the king.

WILLIAM BECKFORD (*monument in Guildhall, London*) 1691

The inscription below the statue is as follows:—"William Beckford, Esq., twice Lord Mayor. His speech to His Majesty King George III, on the 23rd of May, 1770.

"'Most Gracious Sovereign,—Will your Majesty be pleased so far to condescend as to permit the Mayor of your loyal City of London to declare in your Royal Presence, on behalf of his Fellow Citizens, how much the bare apprehension of your Majesty's displeasure would at all times affect their minds. The declaration of that displeasure has already filled them with inexpressible anxiety, and with the deepest affliction. Permit me, Sire, to assure

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your Majesty that your Majesty has not in all your dominions any subjects more faithful, more dutiful, or more affectionate to your Majesty's person and family, or more ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in the maintenance of the true honour and dignity of your Crown. We do therefore, with the greatest humility and submission, most earnestly supplicate your Majesty that you will not dismiss us from your presence, without expressing a more favourable opinion of your faithful Citizens, and without some comfort, some prospect at least, of redress. Permit me, Sire, farther to observe, that whoever has already dared or shall hereafter endeavour by false insinuations and suggestions to alienate your Majesty's affections from your loyal subjects in general, and from the City of London in particular, and to withdraw your confidence in, and regard for your people is an enemy to your Majesty's Person and Family, a violator of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy constitution as it was established at the glorious Revolution."

"A POLITICIAN" (*after W. Hogarth*) 1693

Hogarth is said to have here caricatured a Mr. Tibson, a laceman in the Strand, well known in his day for his keen interest in politics. The picture marks the growth of journals, mentioned in the text, and the popular interest excited by them.

"EXACT DRAUGHT OF BOSTON HARBOUR" (*drawing*, 1733, *in British Museum*) 1694

LANDING OF BRITISH TROOPS AT BOSTON, 1768 (*contemporary engraving by Paul Revere*) 1695

GEORGE WASHINGTON (*picture by Gilbert Stuart, in possession of the Earl of Rosebery*) 1698

AN AMERICAN RIFLEMAN
AN AMERICAN GENERAL } (*E. Barnard*, "*History of England*," 1790) 1700

FIGHT OF BUNKER'S HILL AND BURNING OF CHARLESTOWN (*from the same*) . . 1701

MEDAL COMMEMORATING WASHINGTON'S CAPTURE OF BOSTON (*British Museum*) 1702

Several medals in honour of Washington and American Independence were struck in 1789 at the Royal Mint of Paris; possibly owing to the influence of Lafayette, who had returned from America in 1783. The reverse of the finest of these medals is figured here. It represents Washington, surrounded by his officers, watching from a distance the evacuation of Boston by the English: "The enemies first put to flight—Boston recovered, 17 March 1776." On a cannon to the right is the engraver's signature, "Duviv.," *i.e.* Benjamin Duvivier, chief engraver to the Royal Mint of France. The obverse bears a fine portrait of Washington, with the inscription, "To George Washington, commander-in-chief, assertor of liberty—American Congress." "Duvivier, Paris, f."

MEDAL COMMEMORATING DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (*Snowden*, "*Medallic Memorials of Washington*)" 1703

A medal designed and engraved by C. C. Wright. The obverse bears the head of Washington; there are two reverses; one consists of a tablet on which are inscribed the chief events of American history, from the "Discovery of North America by the English, July 3, 1497" to the "Assault on Quebec by the Americans, December 31, 1775;" the other, here figured, is copied from a picture by Colonel Trumbull of the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

THE LIBERTY BELL, PHILADELPHIA (*Lossing*, "*Cyclopædia of United States History*") 1704

In 1751 the State House at Philadelphia (built 1720–44) received the addition of a tower and belfry, for which the Assembly of Pennsylvania ordered "a good bell of about 2000 lbs. weight" to be cast in England, and inscribed with these words: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof" (Levit. xxv. 10). The bell was cast in London and sent over, but cracked on first trial. Pass and Stow, bell-founders at Philadelphia, re-cast it twice, and it was finally hung in its place on June 7, 1753. Its sound was the first proclamation of the signing of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776. In September 1777 it was taken down and

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removed to Allentown to save it from falling into the hands of the British when Philadelphia was abandoned to them ; the seizure of bells as spoils of war, and their employment for casting cannon-balls, being a recognised military privilege. In 1778 the bell was restored to its place. In 1835 it cracked, and is now preserved as a relic.

THE DEATH OF CHATHAM (*picture by J. S. Copley, 1779, in the National Gallery*) 1706

ROBERT, LORD CLIVE (*from Bartolozzi's engraving of a picture by N. Dance*) . 1708

WARREN HASTINGS (*from a mezzotint by T. Watson, 1777, of a picture by Reynolds*) 1710

SURRENDER OF LORD CORNWALLIS AT YORKTOWN (*Barnard, "History of England," 1790*) 1713

THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE, DUBLIN (*from a photograph*) 1714

Built in 1782 for the Independent Parliament of Ireland ; now used as the Bank of Ireland.

ADMIRAL RODNEY (*from an engraving by E. Scriven of a picture by Reynolds*) . 1715

THE RELIEF OF GIBRALTAR (*European Magazine, 1782*) 1716

THE "DISCOVERY" (*Lindsay, "History of Merchant Shipping," from a drawing by E. W. Cook, R.A.*) 1717

The ship which, under the command of Captain Clerke, accompanied Cook in his last voyage. When this drawing was made she was being used as a coaling-vessel at Newcastle ; hence the addition of the steam-funnels.

"THE IMPEACHMENT—THE FATHER OF THE GANG TURNED KING'S EVIDENCE" (*after Gillray*) 1718

A satire upon Burke's separation from the Tories in May, 1791 (see p. 1753). Fox, Sheridan, and their party regarded themselves as Burke's disciples, and now represented him as turning against and impeaching his own political children.

POSTAGE-STAMP, NEWFOUNDLAND 1718

POSTAGE-STAMP, CANADA 1718

SEAL OF CAPE COLONY, EASTERN DIVISION (*collection of Mr. Allan Wyon*) . 1719

SEAL OF NATAL (*same collection*) 1719

POSTAGE-STAMP, NEW SOUTH WALES 1719

POSTAGE-STAMP, TASMANIA 1719

Each of these stamps and seals bears a device typical of the colony to which it belongs. Newfoundland is represented on its stamp by a seal, Canada by a beaver ; on the Cape seal is figured a native with spear and shield, on that of Natal the gnu, a species of antelope peculiar to South Africa ; New South Wales places on its stamp the lyre-bird indigenous to its woods, and Tasmania's emblem is the singular animal known as platypus or ornithorhynchus, which is found nowhere else. The stamp of New South Wales here reproduced belongs to a Centenary issue, designed to commemorate the hundredth year from the foundation of this colony, in 1788.

WILLIAM PITT (*picture by Gainsborough*) 1720

CHARLES JAMES FOX (*picture by Karl Anton Hickel, in National Portrait Gallery*) 1721

FRONT OF THE OLD EAST INDIA HOUSE 1723

This illustration, kindly lent by Mr. F. C. Danvers from his paper on "India Office Records," represents the original headquarters of the East India Company in Leadenhall Street. The escutcheon with the royal arms and Elizabeth's motto, "Semper Eadem," shows that the façade was coeval with the incorporation of the Company in 1600. The carved woodwork and latticed windows may be compared with those of the contemporary house of Sir Paul Pindar, engraved in p. 988. The design of the frieze seems to be a bold and free development of the Company's arms, figured in p. 990 ; it displays the ships, but increased in number from three to seven ; the sea-lions again appear as supporters, though here with their heads downwards ; while

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the figure at the top doubtless represents a merchant adventurer with his staff in his hand. The house was pulled down and rebuilt in 1726; to this new building, again, a front was added in 1799; finally, the Company having been dissolved on the transfer of India to the Crown in 1858, the house was entirely demolished in 1862.

A VIEW OF BOMBAY GREEN IN 1767 (*Forbes, "Oriental Memoirs"*) 1724

From a drawing made by one of the Company's writers of what he saw from his apartment at the Bunder; viz. part of Government House, the English church, the Secretary's office, the residence of the Second in Council, all interesting for the style of architecture; while the daily life of the place is illustrated by the groups on the green, the official English coach with liveried servants after the fashion of London, the Company's troops, the palanquin, the Bengal chair, and the hackeree drawn by a white Indian ox.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN 1793 (*picture by Karl Anton Hickel, in the National Gallery*) . . . . . *between pp.* 1726 and 1727

WAGGON (*Pyne, "Costumes of Great Britain,"* 1808) 1728

Illustrates "the want of a cheap and easy means of transport" for goods, as mentioned in the text.

AQUEDUCT OVER THE IRWELL AT BARTON, LANCASHIRE (*"drawn and engraved by W. Orme, 1793"*) 1729

WEAVING AT SPITALFIELDS (*Hogarth, "Industry and Idleness"*) 1730

JAMES WATT (*picture by Sir T. Lawrence*) 1731

SAMUEL CROMPTON (*picture by Allingham*) 1732

RICHARD ARKWRIGHT (*picture by Joseph Wright of Derby, in the possession of Mr. P. A. Hurt*) 1733

ADAM SMITH (*from engraving by Holl of a medallion by Tassie*) 1734

TOKEN OF JOHN WILKINSON (*W. Hawkes Smith, "Birmingham"*) 1735

John Wilkinson, ironmaster at Bradley, near Wrexham, made the first castings for Boulton and Watt, before they set up their own foundry in Soho.

COLLIERY-WORK (*Pyne, "Microcosm,"* 1803–6) 1735

IRON-FOUNDRY (*from the same*) 1736

CASTING CANNON-BALLS (*from the same*) 1737

THE LINEN HALL, DUBLIN (*from engraving by W. Hincks,* 1783) 1738

BAS-RELIEF IN WEDGWOOD WARE 1739

Pottery, now so universally used for all purposes of utility and ornament, was unknown, except to the wealthy, in the beginning of last century. Its place was taken for domestic purposes by wood, pewter or horn. The change was effected by Josiah Wedgwood (1738—1795), who, in the words on his monument in Stoke Church, "converted a rude and inconsiderable manufactory into an elegant art, and an important part of national commerce." Born in the humblest class, he set himself to improve upon the imperfect ware then sparsely employed in domestic use, and, by means of experiments of a very enterprising character in the then state of chemical knowledge, achieved the production of earthenware, substantially such as we have it now, and called by him Queen's Ware. The practical benefit to the community of such a new appearance among the commodities of daily life can hardly be over-estimated, but the invention with which his name is more particularly connected is that of the material he called Jasper; a fine semi-vitreous unglazed body, coloured in severely quiet tones, and decorated with white bas-reliefs. In this form of pottery he developed a branch of art deriving its inspiration from classic Greece, though not directly imitative. It is peculiar in being entirely the work of the potter, without aid from painter or gilder, and appeals to educated taste by the beauty of its form, and the perfection combined with simplicity of its execution. In its production he was assisted by the refined taste of Bentley and the genius of Flaxman. The engraving here reproduced is kindly lent by Mr. Godfrey Wedgwood. It represents Mercury, as the god of commerce, joining the hands of England and France. This bas-relief was modelled by Flaxman in 1787, to commemorate the negotiation of the commercial treaty with France in that year.

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THE "FOURTEEN STARS" TAVERN, BRISTOL (*old drawing in British Museum*) 1741
This tavern, which stood at the end of Tucker Street, was a favourite resort of the sea-captains who traded with the Guinea coast. Clarkson frequently visited it in order to obtain from these men information about the slave-trade.

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE (*monument in Westminster Abbey*) 1742

THE FRUIT BARROW (*from an engraving by J. Raphael Smith after H. Walton*) . 1743
A good illustration of children's dress in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

ITINERANT TRADES OF LONDON 1743, 1744, 1745, 1746
Drawn by Francis Wheatley, engraved by Schiavonetti, Cardon, and Vendramini, 1794—5.

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE CAPTURE OF THE BASTILLE, 1789 1747

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE KING'S ENTRY INTO PARIS, 1789 1749

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE GENERAL CONFEDERATION, 1790 1750

"THE TREE OF LIBERTY, WITH THE DEVIL TEMPTING JOHN BULL," (*satire by Gillray*, 1798) 1754
The serpent is Fox, tempting John Bull to taste the fruit of the "tree of liberty," *i.e.*, of revolution: "Nice apple, Johnny! nice apple!" John Bull replies: "Very nice napple, indeed! but my pokes are all full of pippins from off t'other tree" (the British Constitution); "and besides, I hates medlars, they're so domn'd rotten, that I'se afraid they'll gee me the guts-ach for all their vine looks!"

"DE QUOI VOUS PLAIGNEZ-VOUS?" (*after Raffet*) 1758
"L'ennemi menace la France, vous vous élancez, il est foudroyé! Les peuples gémissent dans l'esclavage, ils vous tendent les bras et vous les affranchissez du joug qui les opprime!!! Le drapeau tricolore couvre de ses plis généreux les capitales conquises par vous!!! Et vous vous plaignez! quand il n'est pas un mortel qui ne vous porte envie!"
An officer is represented encouraging by this address a troop of peasant recruits, wounded, ragged, and shod with bands of straw. The splendid series of Raffet's illustrations of the war, one of which is here reproduced from H. Béraldi's "Raffet," revives the finest traditions of the army of the Republic and of the whole career of Napoleon.

PLACARD OF ORDER FOR EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI. 1760
This placard, which is here reproduced for the first time, has been photographed from the only one of the original placards which escaped destruction, and is now preserved in the Musée Carnavalet. The proclamation was posted up in the streets of Paris, and set forth the decree issued, 20 January, 1793, by the Executive Council for the carrying out on the following day of the sentence of death passed upon "Louis Capet," with the time appointed and the order to be observed in the proceedings.

"GEORGES TOURNANT LA MEULE DE PITT" (*print in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*) 1761
A French satire on Pitt and George III.

HORATIO NELSON (*picture by J. Hoppner, in St. James's Palace*) 1762

AN ENGLISH SAILOR 1763
From a print, dated 1779, entitled "A Dance by the Virtue of British Oak." The Englishman is defying a Frenchman and a Spaniard.

"KIDNAPPING, OR A DISGRACE TO OLD ENGLAND," 1794 1764
A satirical picture of the horrors of the press-gang.

RECRUITS (*satirical sketch by W. H. Bunbury*, 1780) 1765

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (*from an engraving by Fiesinger of a picture by Guérin*, 1799) 1766

"THE GLORIOUS FIRST OF JUNE" (*from an engraving by T. Medland of a picture painted* 1794 *by R. Cleveley, R.N.*) 1768

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NELSON AT CAPE ST. VINCENT 1770

In this battle Nelson held the rank of Commodore. His ship, the "Captain," after engaging with six Spanish vessels in succession, ran alongside the Spanish "San Nicolas" and took her by boarding; Nelson himself boarded through the cabin windows. Beyond the "San Nicolas" lay the "San Josef," which carried the Spanish Rear-Admiral. Nelson led his men from the one ship to the other, captured the "San Josef," and received on her quarter-deck the surrender of the Admiral and officers. The view of this incident here reproduced was "painted under the direction of Lord Nelson and the officers of H.M.S. 'Captain,'" by D. Orme, "historical engraver to the King and the Prince of Wales," and published by him in 1800.

FLAG OF THE "NIGER," 1797 (*United Service Museum*) 1771

The "Niger" was the one ship whose crew remained loyal during the mutiny at the Nore. This flag was designed at the time by the men themselves, and presented by them to their captain, E. J. Foote.

VIEW OF ONORE FORT AFTER THE SIEGE IN 1783 (*Forbes, "Oriental Memoirs"*) 1772

A fort on the Malabar coast, taken from Tippoo by the English under Captain Torriano in January 1783, held by them against Tippoo's forces through a siege of three months, and a blockade of seven more, May 1783—March 1784, and only surrendered on the conclusion of peace between Tippoo and the East India Company, in the condition which this view displays, and which tells something alike of the character of Tippoo's fortifications and of the stubbornness of the English resistance.

TIPPOO'S TIGER (*India Museum*) 1773

This representation of a tiger mauling one of the Company's servants was found on the fall of Seringapatam (1799) in Tippoo's palace, in a room full of musical instruments. The tiger and the man are both life-size, and both figures are hollow. A handle on the tiger's left shoulder turns a crank; this works some machinery inside, which causes the man's arm to move up and down with a gesture of supplication, while from his mouth issue a succession of cries, to which the tiger responds at intervals by a harsh growl. A door in the animal's side gives access to another and wholly independent musical mechanism, consisting of an organ with a row of keys to be played on with the hand, and two stops placed near the tail of the tiger.

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE BATTLE OF MARENGO 1774

Obverse, head of "Napoleon, First Consul of the French Republic"—"Battle of Marengo, 25 and 26 Prairial, year 8." Reverse: "The First Consul commanding the Army of Reserve in person. Remember, my lads, my custom is to sleep on the battle-field."

"PORTRAIT OF AN IRISH CHIEF, DRAWN FROM THE LIFE AT WEXFORD" (*satire by Gillray, 1798*) 1775

THE IRISH VOLUNTEERS SALUTING THE STATUE OF WILLIAM III. ON COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN, 1798 (*contemporary picture by F. Wheatley*) 1776

JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN (*from a mezzotint by J. Raphael Smith, of a picture by Lawrence*) 1777

Curran, one of the most brilliant and chivalrous of Irish patriots, stands as an orator among the greatest of his countrymen. In the opinion of Burke he was "the greatest advocate that ever lived." He acted as counsel for the prisoners in all the great trials of 1798; and Lord Brougham declared his defence of Hamilton Rowan to be the most eloquent speech ever delivered at the Bar. O'Connell's judgment that he was "the most eloquent man that ever spoke in English," is probably true in the sense which O'Connell intended—a passionate appeal to the reason, the imagination, and the feelings. His marvellous imagination and humour are commemorated by Byron, who describes him:—

"wild as an Æolian harp
With which the winds of heaven can make accord."

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HENRY GRATTAN (*picture by F. Wheatley, 1782, in National Portrait Gallery*) 1778

Grattan first entered the Irish Parliament in 1775, and became the greatest leader of the movement for Catholic emancipation, and opponent of the Act of Union. In Mr. Lecky's judgment his eloquence was perhaps the finest that has been heard in either country since the time of Chatham. Montalembert thought him the greatest of all modern orators. Byron's tribute to him is well known.

> "Ever glorious Grattan, the great and the good,
> With all that Demosthenes wanted endued,
> And his rival or master in all he possessed."

The noble personal side of his character is also marked by Sydney Smith's words. "What Irishman does not feel proud that he has lived in the days of Grattan? . . . . No government ever dismayed him—the world could not bribe him—he thought only of Ireland—lived for no other object—dedicated to her his beautiful fancy, his elegant wit, his manly courage, and all the splendour of his astonishing eloquence . . . . All the highest attainments of human genius were within his reach, but he thought the noblest occupation of man was to make other men happy and free; and in that straight line he went on for fifty years, without one side-look, without one yielding thought, without one motive in his heart which he might not have laid open to the view of God and man."

HENRY FLOOD (*from an engraving, in Barrington's "Memoirs of Ireland," of a drawing by J. Comerford*) 1779

Flood, who entered the Irish Parliament in 1759, inaugurated the great movement for its reform and independence. He was one of the very greatest of Parliamentary reasoners, the finest orator whom Ireland had till then produced, and by the universal judgment of his contemporaries one of the greatest intellects that ever adorned the Irish Parliament. If oratorically Grattan and Curran may be called the Irish Demosthenes and Cicero, Flood may be distinguished as the Irish Mirabeau.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE IRISH LINEN MANUFACTORY, COUNTY DOWN ("*drawn, engraved and published by W. Hincks, London*, 1783") . . . . . 1780—1790

MAP OF EUROPE AFTER THE PEACE OF LUNEVILLE . . . . . *to face p.* 1792

MEDAL GIVEN TO THE INDIAN TROOPS WHO SERVED IN EGYPT, 1801 (*Tancred, "Record of Medals"*) 1793

Obverse, a Sepoy with the Union Jack; legend in Persian, "This medal has been presented in commemoration of the defeat of the French armies in the Kingdom of Egypt by the great bravery and ability of the victorious army of England." Reverse, an English ship, with the Pyramids and obelisk in the background.

PROCLAMATION OF THE PEACE OF AMIENS AT THE ROYAL EXCHANGE (*print*, 1802) 1794

MALTA (*after J. M. W. Turner*) 1795

THE ACTION OFF PULO AOR, 15TH FEBRUARY, 1804 (*picture by T. Butterworth, in the India Office*) 1796

From 1793 onwards great efforts were made by France to destroy British commerce in the Eastern Seas by squadrons of heavy frigates reinforced occasionally by ships of the line, and aided by numerous privateers. The Company itself fitted out ships to cruise for the protection of trade, and an animated warfare was carried on for several years. In the East India Office there is a print which represents the English fleet along with a strong contingent of the Company's ships sent to reinforce it.

The ordinary vessels, however, by which the East India Company carried on the Eastern trade of Great Britain were of a size altogether exceptional in those days. Traders between America and Europe averaged under 300 tons, while a large proportion of the East Indiamen were of 1,200 tons burden, considerably larger than a first-class frigate and almost the size of a small ship of the line. No other trading ships carried so formidable an armament for defence against privateers, though quite inferior in fighting power to men-

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of-war. The picture here reproduced represents the celebrated encounter which took place on 15th February, 1804, in the China Seas between a fleet of merchant vessels under Commodore Dance and a squadron of French men-of-war under Admiral Linois, and in which, as stated in an address afterwards presented to Dance by the Society of East Indian Commanders, he and the other English commanders, officers, and men "under the favour of Divine Providence preserved these 16 sail of the Hon. East India Company's ships, with 11 more belonging to the Merchants of India, from this formidable enemy, who had sailed from the Isles of France and Batavia for the avowed and almost for the sole purpose of intercepting them; a noble incitement to provoke his valour and enterprise considered either with relation to the value of the booty—not less than six millions sterling—or to the incalculable loss which his success would have brought on the commercial and public interests of the British Empire." According to the account given by Capt. Mahan this body of trading ships "by their firm bearing and compact order imposed upon a hostile squadron of respectable size commanded by an admiral of cautious temper though of proved courage, making him for a brief period the laughing-stock of both hemispheres and bringing down on his head a scathing letter from the Emperor. . . . . The ships which thus 'bluffed' Admiral Linois were none of them a match for a medium frigate." In a letter to the Secretary of the East India Company Captain Dance gives a singularly modest and interesting account of the manner in which his traders bore down upon and gave chase to the French squadron with its line-of-battle ships. He concludes with the words: "In justice to my brother commanders, I must state that every ship was clear and prepared for action; and as I had communication with almost all of them during the two days we were in presence of the enemy, I found them unanimous in the determined resolution to defend the valuable property intrusted to their charge to the last extremity, with a full conviction of the successful event of their exertions; and this spirit was fully seconded by the gallant ardour of all our officers and ships' companies." For this engagement Dance was rewarded by knighthood and a pension.

The five French ships are seen on the right, formed in close line; they are under full sail, and are discharging their broadsides at the Indiamen. These occupy the centre and left of the picture; the rest of the English fleet are seen to leeward.

THE KING OF BROBDINGNAG AND GULLIVER (*after Gillray*) 1798

A satire on Napoleon's preparations for an invasion of England in 1804. Napoleon, as Gulliver, is "manœuvring with his little boat in the cistern," intently watched by King George, Queen Charlotte, and their children.

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE OATH AT BOULOGNE 1799

On 16th August the army assembled for the invasion of England swore fidelity to Napoleon, and he distributed to officers and men crosses of the Legion of Honour, from the casque of Bayard, which he sent for to grace the ceremony. This distribution of crosses is represented on the side of the medal here figured, with the date; the other side has a plan of the positions occupied by the different corps on that day, with some of their names, and the legend, "Oath of the army of England to the Emperor Napoleon."

MEDAL DESIGNED TO COMMEMORATE NAPOLEON'S INVASION OF ENGLAND . 1799

The die of this medal was prepared in Paris, with the intention of using it in London after the expected victory. It represents Hercules overthrowing a merman, and bears the legend, "*Frappée à Londres*"—"Struck in London," "1804." It was afterwards counterfeited in England; but the counterfeit betrays its origin by spelling "*frappé*" with only one *e*.

AUTOGRAPH OF NELSON (*Royal Naval College, Greenwich*) 1800

Part of Nelson's last letter to Lady Hamilton, written just before going into action at Trafalgar, "Monday 21st" [October] "1805." The whole paragraph runs thus: "May the great God whom I worship grant to my country and for the benefit of Europe in general a great and glorious victory, and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it, and may humanity after victory be the predominant feature in the British fleet. For myself individually I commit my life to Him who made me, and may His blessing light upon my endeavours for serving my country faithfully; to Him I resign myself and the great cause which is intrusted to me to defend. Amen. Amen. Amen."

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OLD BRISTOL VOLUNTEER (*Nicholls and Taylor, "Bristol"*) 1801
In 1797 Bristol raised a Volunteer regiment consisting of ten companies of infantry and two troops of light horse; the Mayor was honorary colonel. While waiting to procure regular arms, they bought up all the mopsticks in the city and turned them into pikes with iron heads; with these weapons they mounted guard over the French prisoners, when the soldiers who had been performing that duty were ordered away to meet the French invasion at Fishguard.

SARCOPHAGUS OF NELSON (*in crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral*) 1802
Of black marble; originally designed by Torregiano for Cardinal Wolsey in his days of power, and left unused in his chapel at Windsor ever since his fall till the body of Nelson was placed in it in 1805, when the cushion and coronet were added.

AKBER, KING OF DELHI, AND SIR THOMAS METCALFE (*illumination in India Museum*) 1804
Delhi, the last remnant of the Mogul Empire, passed into English hands in 1803. The Moguls, whose sovereignty had long been merely nominal, received the honorary title of Kings of Delhi, with a grant of lands, to be managed by British officers, for their support. Akber was thus titular king of Delhi from 1806 to 1837. Sir T. Metcalfe, whose dress and features contrast so oddly with those of the Orientals around him, held various appointments in the Delhi territories under the Bengal Civil Service from 1813 onwards, and was Commissioner and Governor-General's agent at Delhi, 1835-53. The illumination, by an Indian artist, probably dates from about 1830.

CALCUTTA MILITIA, 1802 ("*Gentleman's Magazine*") 1805

MAP OF EUROPE AFTER THE PEACE OF TILSIT . . . . . *to face p.* 1806

GEORGE CANNING (*bust in National Portrait Gallery*) 1807

OFFICER OF THE 40TH REGIMENT, 1792 (*Smythies, "History of the Fortieth Regiment"*) 1808

OFFICER OF THE 15TH, OR KING'S HUSSARS, 1807 (*contemporary print*) . . . 1808

FRENCH EAGLE FROM THE PENINSULA (*United Service Museum*) 1809
Napoleon distributed eagles to the French regiments in the camp at Boulogne in 1804, when he took the title of Emperor. The new flags differed from the old Republican ones in having an eagle instead of a spike on the top of the staff. A small number of these were captured at various places—Salamanca, Vitoria, Waterloo, Maida, &c.—and some of them are in public institutions in London.

SPANISH ROYALIST COCKADE (*United Service Museum*) 1809
Inscribed in Spanish, "Long live Ferdinand and George III."

MAJOR-GENERAL WELLESLEY (*engraved by O. Lacour from a picture by Robert Home*, 1806) 1810

SILVER PENNY OF WASHINGTON, 1792 (*Snowden, "Medals of Washington"*) . 1813
The mint of the United States was founded in 1792, and issued its first coins in 1793. As early as 1791, however, some experimental dies were prepared, bearing on the obverse a head of Washington, and on the reverse the design shown here. Washington himself objected to the placing of his likeness on the coinage, and in the Bill for establishing the mint it was accordingly ordained that "an impression emblematic of Liberty" should be substituted for the portrait of the President.

LIVERPOOL HALFPENNY, 1793 (*from a cast in the British Museum*) 1813
An early American coin, or token, used in trade with England; on the edge is inscribed, "Payable in Anglesey, London, or Liverpool." The other side bears a head of Washington.

ENGLISH SAILOR, 1807 (*Atkinson, "Costumes of Great Britain"*) 1814

MIDSHIPMAN, 1799 (*after T. W. Rowlandson*) 1814

PROCESSION AND CHAIRING OF SIR FRANCIS BURDETT ON HIS ELECTION FOR WESTMINSTER, 1807 (*contemporary print*) 1816

MEDAL COMMEMORATING WELLINGTON'S ENTRY INTO MADRID (*South Kensington Museum*) 1819

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MEDAL GIVEN TO AMERICAN INDIAN CHIEFS (*Tancred, "Record of Medals"*) 1822

During the American War of Independence the English Government caused medals to be struck as rewards for the Indian chiefs who adhered to the English side. This practice was renewed in the later wars with America. These medals all bore on their obverse a bust of the King; the reverse of the one here figured is interesting for its design, an Indian and an Englishman smoking the pipe of peace together—"Happy while united." The loop for suspension is formed by an eagle's wing and a calumet, or pipe of peace, placed crosswise.

HOUGOMONT (*after J. M. W. Turner*) 1825

THE "BELLEROPHON" (*after J. M. W. Turner*) 1827

The ship which carried Napoleon to St. Helena.

CHELSEA PENSIONERS READING THE GAZETTE OF WATERLOO (*picture by Sir David Wilkie*, 1822) 1828

THE HAT-FINISHERS IN COMBINATION, 1820 (*Place MSS., vol. i., MS. Add. 27799, British Museum*) 1829

A print at the head of a written paper of "Resolutions agreed to at a meeting of finishers held at the 'Prince and Princess,' Gravel Lane, on Thursday, the 25th of May, 1820." The assembled finishers fix the price for hats (11*s.* per dozen, or 12*s.* per dozen, according to "inches yeoman"), and for the finishing work; they resolve that all workmen in shops where the prices thus fixed are not agreed to, shall "solicit their employers" and bring their answer to another meeting, to be held a week later; that each shop shall send to the next and every succeeding meeting representatives in the proportion of one for every five men; and "that Thos. Meyers be Fined 1*s.* 10*d.* for the first, and 5*s.* 3*d.* for the second offence of being disorderly at this meeting."

THE BOMBARDMENT OF ALGIERS BY VISCOUNT EXMOUTH, 1816 (*picture by George Chambers, at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich*) 1830

DANIEL O'CONNELL (*miniature by B. Mulrenin*, 1836, *in the National Portrait Gallery*) 1833

REPEAL BUTTONS ("*Illustrated London News*," 1843) 1833

TOWN HALL, BIRMINGHAM (built 1834) 1834

A MANCHESTER OPERATIVE ("*Illustrated London News*," 1842) 1836

STAFFORDSHIRE COLLIERS ("*Penny Magazine*," 1836) 1836

THE "ROCKET" 1837

Built by George Stephenson to compete in a trial of locomotive engines for the Liverpool and Manchester Railway at Rainhill, in October, 1829, where it gained the prize of £500 offered by the directors to the makers of the best locomotive complying with certain stated conditions. The greatest speed it attained in the trial was 29 miles an hour; some years later it ran 4 miles in 4½ minutes (=53 miles an hour). It was used on the Liverpool and Manchester line till 1837, thence removed to the Midgeholme Railway, near Carlisle, ceased working in 1844, and was placed in the South Kensington Museum in 1862. It has been much altered at different times; the view here given is from a photograph of a model at Crewe, made from drawings in the possession of the London and North Western Railway Company, showing the engine as it was originally built. Diameter of driving wheels, 4 ft. 8½ in.; diameter of cylinders, 8 in., with stroke of 16½ in.; weight of engine when empty, 3 tons 5 cwt.; in working order, 4 tons 5 cwt. Total working weight of engine and the four-wheeled truck which formed the tender, 7·45 tons.

"GREATER BRITAIN" 1837

London and North Western compound express passenger engine, designed by Mr. F. W. Webb, and built at the Company's works, Crewe, 1893. Diameter of driving wheels, 7 feet; diameter and stroke of cylinders, low, 30 × 24, high, 15 × 24. Total weight of engine, 52 tons 2 cwt.; total weight with tender, 77 tons 2 cwt.; length of engine and tender over buffers, 54 ft. 0½ in.; heating surface, 1,505 sq. ft. 7 sq. in. The leading wheels are fitted with a patent radial axle-box to allow the engine to travel over curves with safety.

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MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE BOMBARDMENT OF ACRE 1838
Given by the Sultan to the officers and crews of the English ships which took part in this exploit. The design represents a fortress on which flies the Turkish flag; above are six stars, below is a Turkish inscription with date. The other side has the Sultan's cypher surrounded by a wreath of laurel.

CHINESE SKETCH OF AN ENGLISH SAILOR ("*Illustrated London News*," 1857) 1838
Issued during the war between China and England in 1839. The cloud issuing from the mouth of the figure is doubtless meant for tobacco-smoke. The original has at the side an inscription in Chinese which runs thus: "This creature appears in the Tsing-teen-heen district of Choo-chow-foo, of the capital of Che-keang. Several troops of men surrounding it, it then changed into blood and water. Soldiers should shoot it with fire-arms, for bows and arrows are unable to injure it. When it appears, the people and troops should be informed that whoever is able to destroy or ward it off will be most amply rewarded. If the monster find itself surrounded by soldiers, it turns and falls into the water. When it meets any one it forthwith eats him. It is truly a wonderful monster."

VISCOUNT MELBOURNE (*picture by Sir T. Lawrence*) 1839

GREAT SEAL OF QUEEN VICTORIA 1840, 1841

SIR ROBERT PEEL (*picture by John Linnell, 1838, in National Portrait Gallery*) . 1842

LORD JOHN RUSSELL (*bust by John Francis, in National Portrait Gallery*) . . . 1843

MEDAL COMMEMORATING DEFENCE OF SILISTRIA (*Tancred, "Record of Medals"*) 1844
Given by the Sultan to the English officers who took part in the defence of Silistria against the Russians in May—June, 1854. The reverse, here figured, has a view of the fortress of Silistria, with the Turkish flag flying over it, and the river Danube in the foreground; below is the date in Turkish, "Hegira 1271, A.D. 1854."

RUPEE OF BOMBAY, 1675 1845
Obverse: "Money of Bombay, seventh year of the English rule. Peace and increase come from God." Reverse, the arms of the "Honourable East India Company of England." Bombay, ceded by Portugal to Charles II. in 1662 (see pp. 1345, 1329), was made over to the East India Company in 1668. These first coins were for use in Bombay alone; in 1676 a mint was set up there to coin money current throughout all the Company's possessions.

RUPEE OF BHURTPOOR 1845
A native coin struck just after the transfer of India from the Company to the Crown. It bears the Queen's head and an inscription in Persian, "In the year 1858, of her Majesty the victorious lawful sovereign of England."

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON (*from an engraving by Joseph Brown of a photograph by John Watkins*) 1846

BENJAMIN DISRAELI, EARL OF BEACONSFIELD (*bust by Sir E. J. Boehm*) . . . 1848

THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE (*after an engraving by W. Biscombe Gardner, from a photograph by Samuel A. Walker*) 1849

THE "UNION JACK" 1850
This group of flags is designed to show the gradual building up of the now familiar emblem of Great Britain and Ireland. At the close of the twelfth century the English warriors in Holy Land were distinguished by the badge of a red cross, as the French crusaders were by a white one. By the end of the fourteenth century this red cross on a white ground, known as "S. George's cross," was the recognised badge of English nationality throughout Europe, and especially at sea. Under this flag (1) English ships sailed, traded, and fought from the days of Edward III. to those of Elizabeth. Scotland meanwhile had its own national flag, a white saltire on a blue ground (2); the saltire, or "S. Andrew's cross," being the emblem appropriate to Scotland's patron saint, while the colours were almost certainly adopted in the fourteenth or early fifteenth century from France, at that time Scotland's close ally. In April 1606 James I. ordered that "henceforth all our subjects of this isle and kingdom of Great Britain and the members thereof shall bear

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in their maintop the red cross commonly called S. George's cross, and the white cross commonly called S. Andrew's cross, joined together according to a form made by our heralds and sent by us to our Admiral, to be published to our said subjects." Thus was formed the first union flag (3). After the union of Ireland with Great Britain, there was added a red saltire on a white ground (4), commonly called "S. Patrick's cross." A cross, however, is not the proper emblem of S. Patrick; the device in this case is really the letter X, part of the sacred monogram of the Labarum, and while its form may thus have been handed down from the earliest days of Irish Christianity, its colours are those of England, introduced by the Anglo-Norman settlers of the Pale. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, this so-called "cross of S. Patrick" was recognised as the Irish flag, and as such it was, in 1801, incorporated in the flag of Great Britain and Ireland (5), now known as the "Union Jack." The word "Jack," used in this sense, is sometimes said to be derived from "Jacobus," the Latin form of James, and supposed to allude to the union of England and Scotland under James I. It seems, however, to have had another and a far earlier origin. In 1386 Richard II., when about to invade Scotland, ordered that "everi man of what estate, condicion or nacion thei be of, so that he be one of oure partie, bere a signe of the armes of S. George, large, both before and behynde, upon parell that yff he be slayne or wounded to deth, he that hath so doon to hym shall not be putte to deth for defaulte of the crosse he lacketh":—*i.e.*, the soldiers of England were to make themselves known, like their forefathers in Holy Land, by the cross of S. George on their tunics or surcoats—an order which was renewed under Henry VI.; and as early as 1375 these wadded, quilted, or leathern tunics worn by the common soldiers were known as *Jacks*. In the sixteenth century the word had another application. In 1575 there is an account "for making 1,500 Jackes, plated before, for furniture of the Queene's maties shippes." The details of the account show that these were shield-like defences, made of leather stretched over frames, stuffed inside, and strengthened externally (as the men's jacks also were sometimes) with iron plates. A whole row of them, looking like shields, and all marked with the cross of S. George, is shown on each quarterdeck along the sides of the king's ship in the picture at Windsor representing Henry VIII.'s embarkation for France in 1520, and also in Anthony's picture of the Harry-Grâce-à-Dieu, 1512, reproduced in p. 612 above. The two kinds of "jacks"—those of the ships and those of the men—are in fact illustrated side by side in pp. 612 and 613. It is easy to see how the name would get transferred from soldier's tunic and ship's furniture to the cross of S. George, which was the distinguishing badge of both, and thence to the flag on which that cross was emblazoned more conspicuously still.

MAP OF LONDON (*Loftie*, "*History of London*") . . . . . *Frontispiece to Vol. IV.*

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

VOL. I

P. i, note on S. Matthew, from the Book of Kells, p. 1, the sentence beginning "Usher's library" should read: "Usher's library, bought by the English army and the State in 1656 for a proposed new college at Dublin, was given by Charles II. to Trinity College, where," &c.

P. iii, note on S. Luke the Evangelist, p. 32, add at end of note: "Probable date, seventh century."

P. v, note on David and his choir, p. 64, add at end: "The figures are of Roman or Byzantine character."

P. vi, lines 6–8 of note on Beginning of Book of Exodus, p. 80, for sentence beginning "There is good reason" read: "The volume numbered 10546 among the Additional MSS. in the British Museum is probably a sumptuous copy made in the next generation." Add at end of note: "with two lines of the minuscules."

P. vi, last two lines of note on Moses giving the Law, p. 81, for "actual portraits of" read: "identified with"; and add after "Holy Writ": "The Sons of Israel are in the garb of Roman senators."

P. vi, note on coin of Ecgberht, p. 82, for "Edward I." read "Henry III."

P. vii, lines 2—4 of note on S. John the Evangelist, p. 102, read "Presented by the Saxon King, Otto I., to his brother-in-law, Æthelstan, who—according to an inscription added in the fifteenth century—destined it for use at the crowning," &c.

P. ix, the second note on Agriculture, p. 125, and the three following notes should read:—

"Agriculture 125
Ploughing 126
Making wattled enclosure 126
Sailing vessels and boats 127

All from MS. Harleian 603 (British Museum), a Psalter, English work of the eleventh century, with drawings imitated in a larger and more vigorous style from those in the Utrecht Psalter, a work of the eighth or ninth century, probably written in Northern Gaul. The wattled enclosure is not in the Utrecht MS., and therefore really represents the making of an old English 'burh.' The boats are copied, but the English artist has much improved the insignificant cherubs' heads of the original, adding wings and the breath coming from their mouths."

P. xi, first two notes should read:—

"Milking and churn, A.D. 1130—1174 170
Weaving, A.D. 1130—1174 171

From MS. Trinity College, Cambridge," &c. For sentence beginning "The small drawings" read: "It is, like MS. Harl. 603 (see above, p. ix), a copy of the Utrecht Psalter, but more freely treated. The milking and churn seem to be original, and therefore English. In the weaving new details are added in Eadwine's copy."

P. xi, notes on Building and Group round a table, p. 173, should read:—

"Building } (*MS. Harl.* 603, *after Utrecht Psalter*) 173
Group round a table }

The fortification is after the Roman manner, as in the Utrecht MS. The table is Roman; the figures have been added and are English."

P. xi, note on Men in Prison and in Stocks, p. 178, add: "English; not in Utrecht Psalter."

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

P. xi, note on Organ, p. 182, add: "Copied from the Utrecht Psalter."

P. xi, note on The Exchequer, p. 184, first two lines should read: "Better drawn than the original in the Utrecht Psalter; the headgear of the presiding officer is altered from the crown with balls on it given in the Utrecht MS. The picture illustrates the weighing of the money received at the Exchequer, which was customary under Henry I. and Bishop Roger."

P. xii, note on Frithstool, p. 203, last sentence should read: "The Hexham frithstool dates from the twelfth century. Only one other now remains in England, at Beverley Minster."

P. xiii, note on Seal of Les Andelys, p. 215, should read: "This seal, in the collection of the late Rev. S. S. Lewis, dates from the English re-conquest of Normandy in the fifteenth century. The castle figured on it is probably meant for a conventional representation of Château-Gaillard, the head of the lordship of Les Andelys; the armorial bearings are those adopted by the English kings as claimants of the Crown of France."

P. xiv, note on Hedgehogs and Mushroom, p. 226, for "Mushroom" read "Trees."

P. xiv, note on the Great Charter, p. 241, should read: "Four contemporary copies of the charter remain; one at Lincoln, one at Salisbury, two in the British Museum. The facsimile, reduced to rather more than a third of the original size, is from one of these last; the other, which alone of the four has 'the royal seal still hanging' from it (see p. 240), is so 'injured by age and fire' as to be illegible."

P. xviii, note on Facsimile from Red Book of Hergest, p. 307, for "now in Jesus College" read "now in the Bodleian Library, but belonging to Jesus College."

P. xix, note on Brass in Gorleston Church, p. 332, should read: "Probably one of the Bacon family, c. 1320."

P. xxiii, note on Venice, p. 387, should read:—

"Venice (*frontispiece to MS. Bodl. Misc.* 264, part iii) 387

The official account in the Bodleian attributes this French History of Marco Polo's travels to an English scribe and a French artist, late in the fourteenth century. According to the high authority of Mr. R. Holmes, Librarian at Windsor Castle, MS. and illuminations are English work of the fifteenth century."

P. xxiii, note on Bridge over Esk, p. 388, for "early" read "late."

P. xxiii, add at end of note on Musicians and Audience, p. 396: "The portative was a wind instrument with keyboard and bellows."

P. xxiv, line 1, for "Violin" read "Viol."

P. xxiv, line 3, for "Lute" read "Cittern."

P. xxv, note on English soldiers scaling a fortress, p. 442, *dele* "temp. Edward III.," and for "early in the fourteenth century" read "in the fifteenth century."

P. xxv, note on the House of Lords, p. 445, for "1274" read "1277."

P. xxv, note on Brass of Sir Robert Attetye, p. 446, should read:—

"Brass in Barsham Church, Suffolk (*Suckling*, "*History of Suffolk*"). 446

Date c. 1415. Probably Sir John Suckling."

P. xxv, last note, for "Brasse" read "Brass."

P. xxvi, note on A Pope in Consistory, p. 454, should read:—

"Pope and Cardinals (*MS. Add.* 23923, *British Museum*) 454

This illumination is of Italian workmanship; it forms the headpiece to a copy of the Decretals of Boniface VIII., who died in 1303. The Pope, however, is represented wearing the triple tiara, which was not yet in use in Boniface's time, and the MS. dates from about 1380."

Pp. 4, 5, 11, 42, 43, titles under cuts, for "Early Civilization of Sweden" read "Civilization of Sweden."

P. 47, title under cut, for "Penda" read "Peada."

P. 69, line 7, for "Æthebald" read "Æthelbald."

P. 102, title under cut, for "Otto II." read "Otto I."

P. 116, ,, ,, "Noak" read "Noah."

P. 215, ,, ,, "Late thirteenth or early fourteenth century" read "Fifteenth century."

P. 226, title under cut, for "Mushroom" read "Trees."

P. 252, line 1, insert full stop after "Osney."

P. 307, title under cut, for "now in Jesus College, Oxford," read "now belonging to Jesus College, Oxford; exhibited in Bodleian Library."

P. 332, title under cut, for "end of thirteenth century" read "early fourteenth century."

Title under plate facing p. 387, *dele* "A.D. 1338."

P. 388, title under cut, for "early" read "late."
P. 396, ,, ,, ,, "cornet and virginals" read "shawm and portative."
P. 396, ,, ,, ,, "Violin" read "Viol."
P. 397, ,, ,, ,, "Lute" read "Cittern."
P. 442, ,, ,, *dele* "Temp. Edward III.," and for "fourteenth" read "fifteenth."
P. 446, title under cut, *dele* "of Sir Robert Attetye," and for "c. 1380" read "c. 1415."
P. 454, ,, ,, for "early" read "late."

VOL. II

P. xxvii, first note should read:—
"The Knight of the Wheelbarrow, A.D. 1338-44 (*MS. Bodl. Misc.* 264) 469
Probably being brought home from the inn."
P. xxvii, note in second illustration in p. 481, for "Swan-hopping" read "Shoeing a swan; a mediæval jest."
P. xxviii, note on David and his choir, p. 503, the sentence beginning "The psaltery" should read: "The psaltery, held on the knees, was now superseding an earlier stringed instrument called the rote (a descendant of the lyre), which is shown in pp. 64 and 72, and which developed later into the Welsh crwth. The harp," &c.
P. xxxviii, note on shrine of S. Thomas de Cantelupe, p. 701, should read: "S. Thomas de Cantelupe, Bishop of Hereford, was the last canonized Englishman. His shrine, erected in 1287—five years after his death, and twenty years before his canonization at Rome—is one of the three," &c.
P. xlv, note on Bedstead, page 791, should read: "In South Kensington Museum; formerly at Turton Tower, Lancashire, and said to have been given by a King of France to an Earl of Devon. No coronet however surmounts the Courtenay arms carved on the frieze; and on the footboard is the date 1593, twenty-seven years after the death of the last Earl of Devon. The bedstead was in all likelihood made in England for one of the Courtenay family."
P. xlvii, note on The Shepherd's Calendar, pp. 849-854, for "1597" read "1579" twice.
P. liii, line 16, for "1501" read "1581."
P. 469, title under cut, for "The Lady of the Manor" read "The Knight of the Wheelbarrow."
P. 481, title under cut, for "Swan-hopping" read "Shoeing a Swan; a mediæval proverb."
P. 495, line 2 from foot, for "very" read "wery."
P. 585, line 5, for "logitimated" read "legitimatized."
P. 660, title under cut, for "The Dancing Picture" read "Courtiers Dancing," and *dele* "by Holbein and Janet."
P. 745, line 9 from foot, insert comma after "Suffolk."
Pp. 849-854, titles under cuts, for "1597" read "1579."

VOL. III

P. lx, last note, for "History England" read "History of England."
P. lxiii, note on Facsimile, p. 1104, for "Solemn League and Covenant" read "Scottish National Covenant."
P. lxvi, lines 3-16 of note on "A Lovely Company," pp. 1162-1166, should read: "This house—now used as a convalescent home in connexion with the Hospital for Sick Children in Great Ormonde Street—once belonged to John Ireton, alderman of London, and brother of Henry Ireton, who was Cromwell's son-in-law. One of the rooms has on its ceiling (partly burnt in 1865, but restored) a coat-of-arms which seems to be that of the Ireton family. The monogram I. C., on a mantelpiece in another room, and the same initials, with a small O between them, on a boundary stone let into the garden wall, have been supposed to represent "Ireton" and "Cromwell;" but it is much more probable that while the I may stand for either "Ireton" or "John," the C represents either the surname

or the Christian name of the alderman's wife, and that the house, said to have been originally built in 1630, was re-decorated by him. The persistent but apparently groundless local tradition that it was the home of his soldier brother may well have been suggested by the character of the decorations. Two figures were destroyed at the Restoration ; the nine which," &c.

P. lxviii, note on The Humble Petition, p. 1196, for "Jock of Bread" read "Jock of Braid Scotland."

P. lxviii, note on S. Laurence's Gate, Drogheda, p. 1210, for "This and one other gate" read "This, one other gate, and a fine piece of the south wall."

P. lxix, note on Light Horseman, p. 1222, add at end: "and that the skirt should be rather longer."

P. lxxii, line 4 of note on Facsimiles of Irish MSS., p. 1252, for "sprung" read "sprang."

P. lxxiii, note on Autograph of Cromwell, p. 1258, should read: "Scrawled on a petition of the East India Company, November, 1657, and interesting as showing Cromwell's desire 'for the incoragement of the East India Trade.' The tremulous hand is very unlike his firm, bold writing in earlier days, and indicates how his health was failing."

P. lxxiv, note on Ampulla, p. 1286, before "the kings of England" insert "the Emperor."

P. lxxvii, line 10 of note on Mace of the Bailiff of Jersey, pp. 1318, 1319, for "Casteret" read "Carteret."

P. 957, margin, for "1592" read "1572."

P. 1104, title under cut, for "Solemn League and Covenant" read "Scottish National Covenant."

P. 1196, title under cut, for "Jock of Bread" read "Jock of Braid Scotland."

VOL. IV

P. xc, note on Advertisement of John Heaton, p. 1576, for "was a maker of agricultural implements" read "seems to have been a printer."

P. xcii, add to note on the Mogul Emperors, p. 1630: "The Emperor seated in the middle is Timur ; on his right are Baber, Akbar, Shah Jehan, Muhammad Shah, Ahmed Shah, and Alamgir II. ; on his left, Humayun, Jehangir, Aurungzib, Bahadur Shah, and Farokhsir. The buildings in the distance are some of their works, among them the Taj Mahal and the Jumna Musjid."

P. xcv, note on the Tschudi Family, p. 1670, for "Elizabeth" read "Catherine" ; put semicolon instead of full stop after "reconciliation" ; *dele* last sentence ("These Empresses," &c.), and read: "the three sovereigns having just divided Poland among them, and thus become allies."

A SHORT HISTORY

OF THE

ENGLISH PEOPLE

TITLE-PAGE OF MUSICK'S HANDMAIDE, 1663.

THE REVOLUTION

Section V.—Shaftesbury, 1679—1682

[*Authorities.*—As before. We may add for this period Earl Russell's Life of his ancestor, William, Lord Russell.]

Sir William Temple

The new Parliament was elected in a tumult of national excitement. The members were for the most part Churchmen and country gentlemen, but they shared the alarm of the country, and even before their assembly in March their temper had told on the King's policy. James was sent to Brussels. Charles began to disband the army and promised that Danby should soon withdraw from office. In his speech from the throne he asked for supplies to maintain the Protestant attitude of his Government in foreign affairs. But it was impossible to avert Danby's fall. The Commons insisted on carrying his impeachment to the bar of the Lords. It was necessary to dismiss him from his post of Treasurer and to construct a new ministry. Shaftesbury became President of the Council. The chiefs of the Country party, Lord Russell and Lord Cavendish, took their seats at the board with Lords Holles and Roberts, the older representatives of the Presby-

The New Ministry

SEC. V
SHAFTESBURY
1679 TO 1682

terian party which had merged in the general Opposition. Savile, Lord Halifax, as yet known only as a keen and ingenious speaker, entered the ministry in the train of Shaftesbury, with whom he was connected; Lord Sunderland was admitted to the Council; while Lord Essex and Lord Capel, two of the most popular among the Country leaders, went to the Treasury. The recall of Sir William Temple, the negotiator of the Triple Alliance, from his embassy at the Hague to fill the post of Secretary of State, promised a foreign policy which would again place England high among the European powers. Temple returned with a plan of administration which, fruitless as it directly proved, is of great importance as marking the silent change which was passing over the Constitution. Like many men of his time, he was equally alarmed at the power both of the Crown and of the Parliament. In moments of national excitement the power of the Houses seemed irresistible. They had overthrown Clarendon. They had overthrown Clifford and the Cabal. They had just overthrown Danby. But though they were strong enough in the end to punish ill government, they showed no power of securing good government or of permanently influencing the policy of the Crown. For nineteen years, with a Parliament always sitting, Charles as far as foreign policy went had it pretty much his own way. He had made war against the will of the nation and he had refused to make war when the nation demanded it. While every Englishman hated France, he had made England a mere dependency of the French King. The remedy for this state of things, as it was afterwards found, was a very simple one. By a change which we shall have to trace, the Ministry has now become a Committee of State-officers, named by the majority of the House of Commons from amongst the more prominent of its representatives in either House, whose object in accepting office is to do the will of that majority. So long as the majority of the House of Commons itself represents the more powerful current of public opinion it is clear that such an arrangement makes government an accurate reflection of the national will. But obvious as such a plan may seem to us, it had as yet occurred to no English statesman. Even to Temple the one remedy seemed to lie in the restoration of the Royal Council to its older powers. This body, composed as it

was of the great officers of the Court, the royal Treasurer and Secretaries, and a few nobles specially summoned to it by the sovereign, formed up to the close of Elizabeth's reign a sort of deliberative assembly to which the graver matters of public

THE DUCHESS OF LAUDERDALE'S BOUDOIR, HAM HOUSE.

administration were commonly submitted by the Crown. A practice, however, of previously submitting such measures to a smaller body of the more important councillors must always have existed; and under James this secret committee, which was then

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known as the Cabala or Cabal, began almost wholly to supersede the Council itself. In the large and balanced Council which was formed after the Restoration all real power rested with the "Cabala" of Clarendon, Southampton, Ormond, Monk, and the two Secretaries; and on Clarendon's fall these were succeeded by Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. By a mere coincidence the initials of the latter names formed the word "Cabal," which has ever since retained the sinister meaning their unpopularity gave to it. The effect of these smaller committees had undoubtedly been to remove the check which the larger

THE "CABAL" ROOM, HAM HOUSE.

numbers and the more popular composition of the Royal Council laid upon the Crown. The unscrupulous projects which made the Cabal of Clifford and his fellows a by-word among Englishmen could never have been laid before a Council of great peers and hereditary officers of State. To Temple therefore the organization of the Council seemed to furnish a check on mere personal government which Parliament was unable to supply. For this purpose the Cabala, or Cabinet, as it was now becoming the fashion to term the confidential committee of the Council, was abolished. The Council itself was restricted to thirty members

and their joint income was not to fall below £300,000, a sum little less than what was estimated as the income of the whole House of Commons. A body of great nobles and proprietors, not too numerous for secret deliberation, and wealthy enough to counterbalance either the Commons or the Crown, would form, Temple hoped, a barrier against the violence and aggression of the one power, and a check on the mere despotism of the other.

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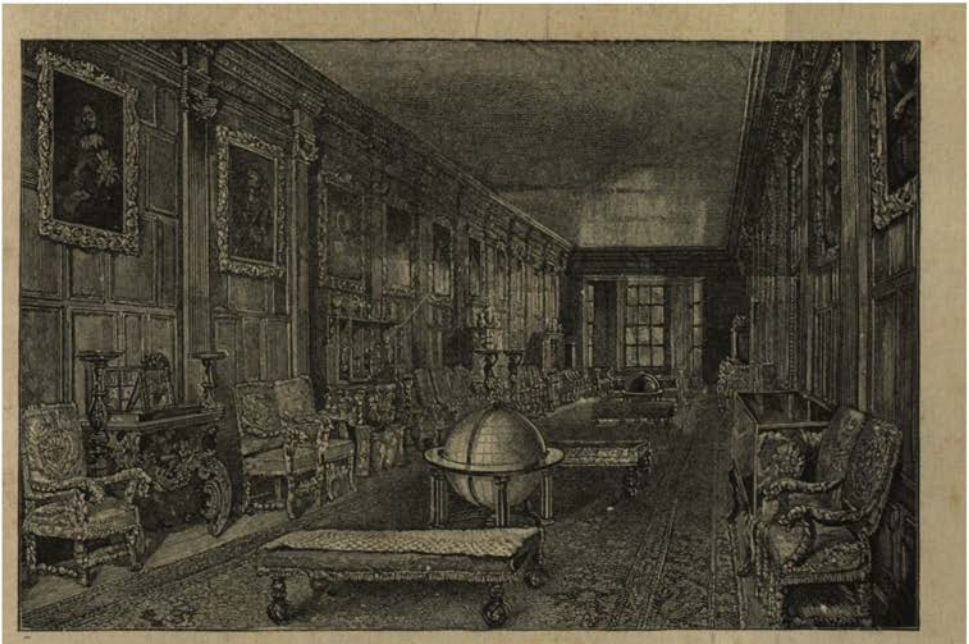
SHAFTESBURY
1679 TO 1682

The new Council and the new ministry gave fair hope of a wise and patriotic government. But the difficulties were still great.

The Exclusion Bill



THE LONG GALLERY, HAM HOUSE.

The nation was frenzied with suspicion and panic. The elections to the Parliament had taken place amidst a whirl of excitement which left no place for candidates of the Court. The appointment of the new ministry, indeed, was welcomed with a general burst of joy. But the question of the Succession threw all others into the shade. At the bottom of the national panic lay the dread of a Catholic King, a dread which the after history of James fully justified. Shaftesbury was earnest for the exclusion of James, but as yet the majority of the Council shrank from the step, and

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supported a plan which Charles brought forward for preserving the rights of the Duke of York while restraining his powers as sovereign. By this project the presentation to Church livings was to be taken out of his hands on his accession. The last Parliament of the preceding reign was to continue to sit; and the appointment of all Councillors, Judges, Lord-Lieutenants, and officers in the fleet, was vested in the two Houses so long as a Catholic sovereign was on the throne. The extent of these provisions showed the pressure which Charles felt, but Shaftesbury was undoubtedly right in setting the plan aside as at once insufficient and impracticable. He continued to advocate the Exclusion in the royal Council; and a bill for depriving James of his right to the Crown, and for devolving it on the next Protestant in the line of succession, was introduced into the Commons by his adherents, and passed the House by a large majority. It was known that Charles would use his influence with the Peers for its rejection, and the Earl therefore fell back on the tactics of Pym. A bold Remonstrance was prepared in the Commons. The City of London was ready with an address to the two Houses in favour of the bill. All Charles could do was to gain time by the prorogation of the Parliament, and by its dissolution in May.

The Bill of Securities

Monmouth

But delay would have been useless had the Country party remained at one. The temper of the nation and of the House of Commons was so hotly pronounced in favour of the exclusion of the Duke, that union among the ministers must in the end have secured it and spared England the necessity for the Revolution of 1688. The wiser leaders of the Country party, indeed, were already leaning to the very change which that Revolution brought about. If James were passed over, his daughter Mary, the wife of the Prince of Orange, stood next in the order of succession: and the plan of Temple, Essex, and Halifax after the failure of their bill of Securities, was to bring the Prince over to England during the prorogation, to introduce him into the Council, and to pave his way to the throne. Unhappily Shaftesbury was contemplating a very different course. He distrusted the Prince of Orange as a mere adherent of the royal house, and as opposed to any weakening of the royal power or invasion of the royal prerogative. His motive for setting aside William's claims is probably to be found in the

maxim ascribed to him, that "a bad title makes a good king." Whatever were his motives, however, he had resolved to set aside the claims of James and his children, as well as William's own

JAMES, DUKE OF MONMOUTH.
Picture by Sir Peter Lely at Dalkeith Palace.

claim, and to place the Duke of Monmouth on the throne. Monmouth was reputed to be the eldest of the King's bastards, a weak and worthless profligate in temper, but popular through his

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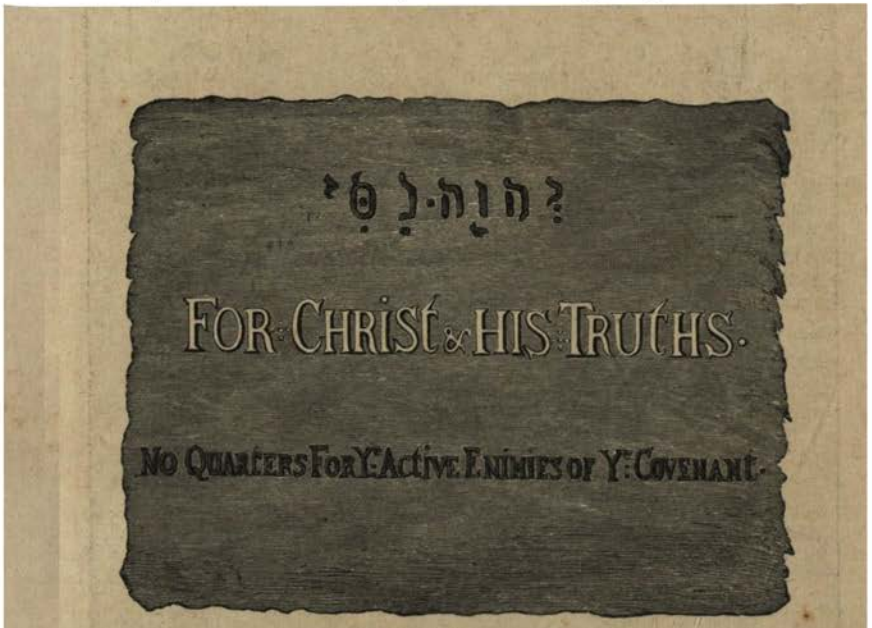
personal beauty and his reputation for bravery. The tale was set about of a secret marriage between the King and his mother; Shaftesbury induced Charles to put the Duke at the head of the troops sent to repress a rising of the Covenanters in the west of Scotland, and on his return pressed the King to give him the com-



BANNER USED BY THE COVENANTERS AT DRUMCLOG AND BOTHWELL BRIG, 1679.
Napier, "Memoirs of Dundee."

mand of the Guards, which would have put the only military force possessed by the Crown in Monmouth's hands.

Shaftesbury's Second Dismissal

Sunderland, Halifax, and Essex, however, were not only steadily opposed to Shaftesbury's project, but saw themselves marked out for ruin in the event of Shaftesbury's success. They had advised the dissolution of the last Parliament; and the Earl's anger had vented itself in threats that the advisers of the dissolution should pay for it with their heads. The danger came home to them when a sudden illness of the King and the absence of James made Monmouth's accession a possible contingency. The three ministers at once induced Charles to recall the Duke of York; and though he withdrew to Scotland on the King's recovery, Charles deprived

Monmouth of his charge as Captain-General of the Forces and ordered him like James to leave the realm. Left alone in his cause

SAMUEL PEPYS.
Imprisoned in the Tower, 1679, during the panic of the Popish Plot.
Picture by John Hayls, in the National Portrait Gallery.

by the opposition of his colleagues, Shaftesbury threw himself more and more on the support of the Plot. The prosecution of its

FRANCIS NORTH, LORD GUILFORD, KEEPER OF THE GREAT SEAL, 1680.
From an engraving by G. Vertue after David Loggan.

victims was pushed recklessly on. Three Catholics were hanged in London. Eight priests were put to death in the country. Pursuivants and informers spread terror through every Catholic household. He counted on the reassembling of the Parliament to bring all this terror to bear upon the King. But Charles had already marked the breach which the Earl's policy had made in the ranks of the Country party. He saw that Shaftesbury was unsupported by any of his colleagues save Russell. To Temple, Essex, or Halifax it seemed possible to bring about the succession of Mary without any violent revolution; but to set aside not only the right of James but the right of his Protestant children, and even of the Prince of Orange, was to ensure a civil war. It was with their full support therefore that Charles deprived Shaftesbury of his post of Lord President of the Council. The dismissal was the signal for a struggle to whose danger Charles was far from blinding himself. What had saved him till now was his cynical courage. In the midst of the terror and panic of the Plot men "wondered to see him quite cheerful amidst such an intricacy of troubles," says the courtly Reresby, "but it was not in his nature to think or perplex himself much about anything." Even in the heat of the tumult which followed on Shaftesbury's dismissal, Charles was seen fishing and sauntering as usual in Windsor Park. But closer observers than Reresby saw beneath this veil of indolent unconcern a consciousness of new danger. "From this time," says Burnet, "his temper was observed to change very visibly." He became in fact "sullen and thoughtful; he saw that he had to do with a strange sort of people, that could neither be managed nor frightened." But he faced the danger with his old unscrupulous coolness. He reopened secret negotiations with France. Lewis was as alarmed as Charles himself at the warlike temper of the nation, and as anxious to prevent the assembly of a Parliament; but the terms on which he offered a subsidy were too humiliating even for the King's acceptance. The failure forced him to summon a new Parliament; and the panic, which Shaftesbury was busily feeding with new tales of massacre and invasion, returned members even more violent than the members of the House he had just dismissed. A host of petitions called on the King to suffer Parliament to meet at the opening of 1680. Even the Council shrank from the King's

Oct. 1679

Shaftesbury's struggle

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Shaftesbury 1679 to 1682

proposal to prorogue its assembly to November, 1680, but Charles persisted. Alone as he stood, he was firm in his resolve to gain time, for time, as he saw, was working in his favour. The tide of public sympathy was beginning to turn. The perjury of Oates proved too much at last for the credulity of juries; and the acquittal of four of his victims was a sign that the panic was beginning to ebb. A far stronger proof of this was seen in the immense efforts which Shaftesbury made to maintain it. Fresh informers were brought forward to swear to a plot for the assassination of the Earl himself, and to the share of the Duke of York in the conspiracies of his fellow-religionists. A paper found in a meal-tub was produced as evidence of the new danger. Gigantic torch-light processions paraded the streets of London, and the effigy of the Pope was burnt amidst the wild outcry of a vast multitude.

Petitioners and Abhorrers

Acts of yet greater daring showed the lengths to which Shaftesbury was ready to go. He had grown up amidst the tumults of civil war, and, greyheaded as he was, the fire and vehemence of his early days seemed to wake again in the singular recklessness with which he drove on the nation to a struggle in arms. Early in 1680 he formed a committee for promoting agitation throughout the country; and the petitions which it drew up for the assembly of the Parliament were sent to every town and grand jury, and sent back again with thousands of signatures. Monmouth, in spite of the King's orders, returned at Shaftesbury's call to London; and a daring pamphlet pointed him out as the nation's leader in the coming struggle "against Popery and tyranny." So great was the alarm of the Council that the garrison in every fortress was held in readiness for instant war. But the danger was really less than it seemed. The tide of opinion had fairly turned. Acquittal followed acquittal. A

The re-action

reaction of horror and remorse at the cruelty which had hurried victim after victim to the gallows succeeded to the pitiless frenzy which Shaftesbury had fanned into a flame. Anxious as the nation was for a Protestant sovereign, its sense of justice revolted against the wrong threatened to James's Protestant children; and every gentleman in the realm felt insulted at the project of setting Mary aside to put the crown of England on the head of a bastard. The memory too of the Civil War

was still fresh and keen, and the rumour of an outbreak of revolt rallied men more and more round the King. The host of petitions which Shaftesbury procured from the counties was answered by a counter host of addresses from thousands who declared their "abhorrence" of the plans against the Crown. The country was divided into two great factions of "petitioners" and "abhorrers," the germs of the two great parties of "Whigs" and "Tories" which have played so prominent a part in our political history from the time of the Exclusion Bill. Charles at once took advantage of this turn of affairs. He recalled the Duke of York to the Court. He received the resignations of Russell

MEDAL OF THE DUCHESS OF PORTSMOUTH, 1673.

and Cavendish, as well as of the Earl of Essex, who had at last gone over to Shaftesbury's projects "with all his heart." Shaftesbury met defiance with defiance. Followed by a crowd of his adherents he attended before the Grand Jury of Middlesex, to indict the Duke of York as a Catholic recusant, and the King's mistress, the Duchess of Portsmouth, as a national nuisance, while Monmouth made a progress through the country, and gained favour everywhere by his winning demeanour. Above all, Shaftesbury relied on the temper of the Commons, elected as they had been in the very heat of the panic and irritated by the long delay in calling them together. The first act of the House on meeting in

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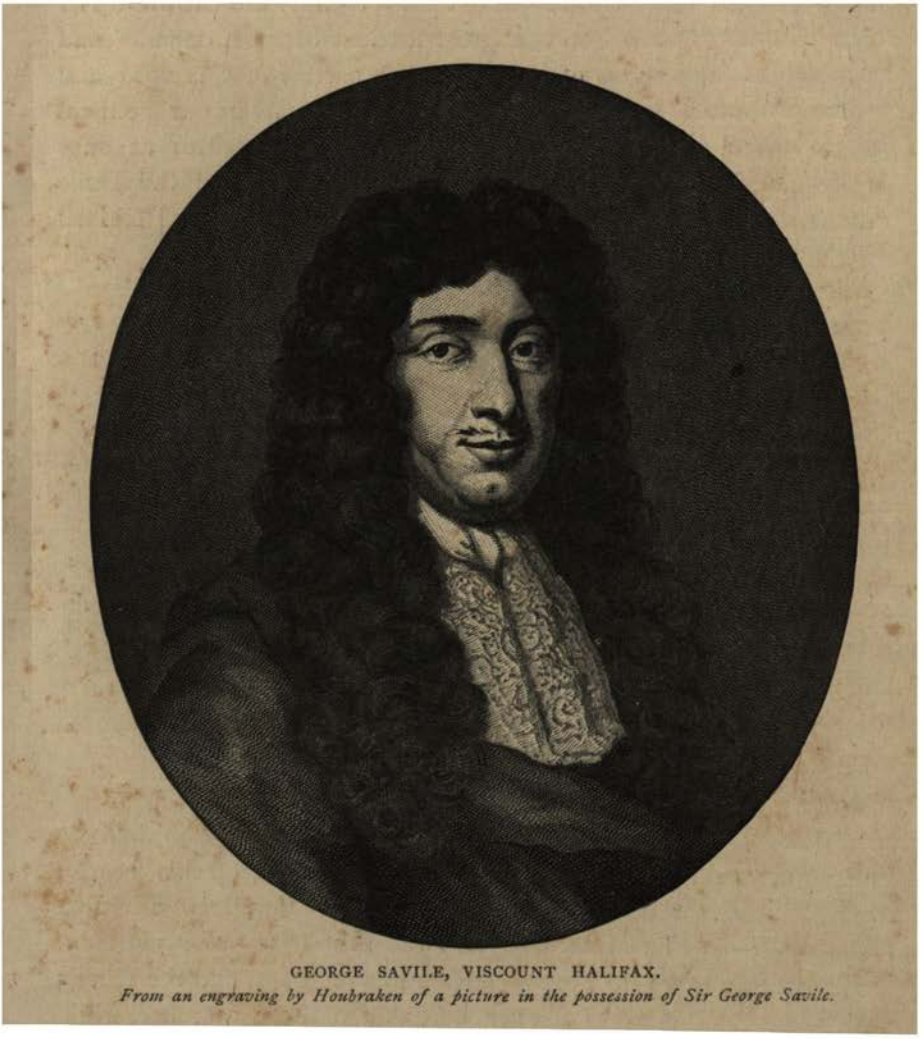
October was to vote that their care should be "to suppress Popery and prevent a Popish successor." Rumours of a Catholic plot in Ireland were hardly needed to push the Exclusion Bill through the Commons without a division. So resolute was the temper of



GEORGE SAVILE, VISCOUNT HALIFAX.
From an engraving by Houbraken of a picture in the possession of Sir George Savile.

the Lower House that even Temple and Essex now gave their adhesion to it as a necessity, and Sunderland himself wavered towards accepting it. Halifax, whose ability and eloquence had now brought him fairly to the front, opposed it resolutely

and successfully in the Lords; but Halifax was only the mouthpiece of William. "My Lord Halifax is entirely in the interest of the Prince of Orange," the French ambassador, Barillon, wrote to his master, "and what he seems to be doing for the Duke of York is really in order to make an opening for a compromise by which the Prince of Orange may benefit." The Exclusion Bill once rejected, Halifax followed up the blow by bringing forward a plan of Protestant securities, which would have taken from James on his accession the right of veto on any bill passed by the two Houses, the right of negotiating with foreign states, or of appointing either civil or military officers save with the consent of Parliament. This plan also was no doubt prompted by the Prince of Orange; and the States of Holland supported it by pressing Charles to come to an accommodation with his subjects which would enable them to check the perpetual aggressions which France was making on her neighbours

William and the Exclusion 1680

But if the Lords would have no Exclusion Bill the Commons with as good reason would have no Securities Bill. They felt—as one of the members for London fairly put it—that such securities would break down at the very moment they were needed. A Catholic king, should he ever come to the throne, would have other forces besides those in England to back him. "The Duke rules over Scotland; the Irish and the English Papists will follow him; he will be obeyed by the officials of high and low rank whom the King has appointed; he will be just such a king as he thinks good." Shaftesbury however was far from resting in a merely negative position. He made a despairing effort to do the work of exclusion by a Bill of Divorce, which would have enabled Charles to put away his Queen on the ground of barrenness, and by a fresh marriage to give a Protestant heir to the throne. The Earl was perhaps already sensible of a change in public feeling, and this he resolved to check and turn by a great public impeachment which would revive and establish the general belief in the Plot. Lord Stafford, who from his age and rank was looked on as the leader of the Catholic party, had lain a prisoner in the Tower since the first outburst of popular frenzy. He was now solemnly impeached; and his trial in December 1680 mustered the whole force of informers to prove the truth of a Catholic conspiracy

The Oxford Parliament

Trial of Lord Stafford

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against the King and the realm. The evidence was worthless; but the trial revived, as Shaftesbury had hoped, much of the old panic, and the condemnation of the prisoner by a majority of his peers was followed by his death on the scaffold. The blow produced its effect on all but Charles. Sunderland again pressed the King to give way. But deserted as he was by his ministers, and even by his mistress, for the Duchess of Portsmouth had been cowed into supporting the exclusion by the threats of Shaftesbury, Charles was determined to resist. On the coupling of a grant

PARADE OF MILITIA AT ABERGWILI.
T. Dineley, "Progress of the Duke of Beaufort through Wales," 1684.

of supplies with demands for a voice in the appointment of officers of the royal garrisons he prorogued the Parliament. The truth was that he was again planning an alliance with France. With characteristic subtlety, however, he dissolved the existing
1681 Parliament, and called a new one to meet in March. The act was a mere blind. The King's aim was to frighten the country into reaction by the dread of civil strife; and his summons of the Parliament to Oxford was an appeal to the country against the disloyalty of the capital, and an adroit means of reviving the

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memories of the Civil War. With the same end he ordered his guards to accompany him, on the pretext of anticipated disorder; and Shaftesbury, himself terrified at the projects of the Court, aided the King's designs by appearing with his followers in arms on the plea of self-protection. Monmouth renewed his progresses through the country. Riots broke out in London. Revolt seemed at hand, and Charles hastened to conclude his secret negotiations with France. He verbally pledged himself to a policy of peace, in other words to withdrawal from any share in the Grand Alliance which William was building up, while Lewis promised a small subsidy which with the natural growth of the royal revenue sufficed to render Charles, if he remained at peace, independent of Parliamentary aids. The violence of the new Parliament played yet more effectually into the King's hands. The members of the House of Commons were the same as those who had been returned to the Parliaments he had just dissolved, and their temper was naturally embittered by the two dissolutions. Their rejection of a new Limitation Bill brought forward by Halifax, which while granting James the title of King would have vested the actual functions of government in the Prince and Princess of Orange, alienated the more moderate and sensible of the Country party. The attempt of the Lower House to revive the panic by impeaching an informer named Fitzharris before the House of Lords, in defiance of the constitutional rule which entitled him as a commoner to a trial by his peers in the course of common law, did still more to throw public opinion on the side of the Crown. Shaftesbury's course, in fact, went wholly on a belief that the penury of the Treasury left Charles at his mercy, and that a refusal of supplies must wring from the King his assent to the Exclusion. But the gold of France had freed the King from his thraldom. He had used the Parliament simply to exhibit himself as a sovereign whose patience and conciliatory temper was rewarded with insult and violence; and now that his end was accomplished, he no sooner saw the Exclusion Bill re-introduced, than he suddenly dissolved the Houses after a month's sitting, and appealed in a royal declaration to the justice of the nation at large.

Charles turns to France

The appeal was met by an almost universal burst of loyalty. The Church rallied to the King; his declaration was read from

Shaftesbury's Death

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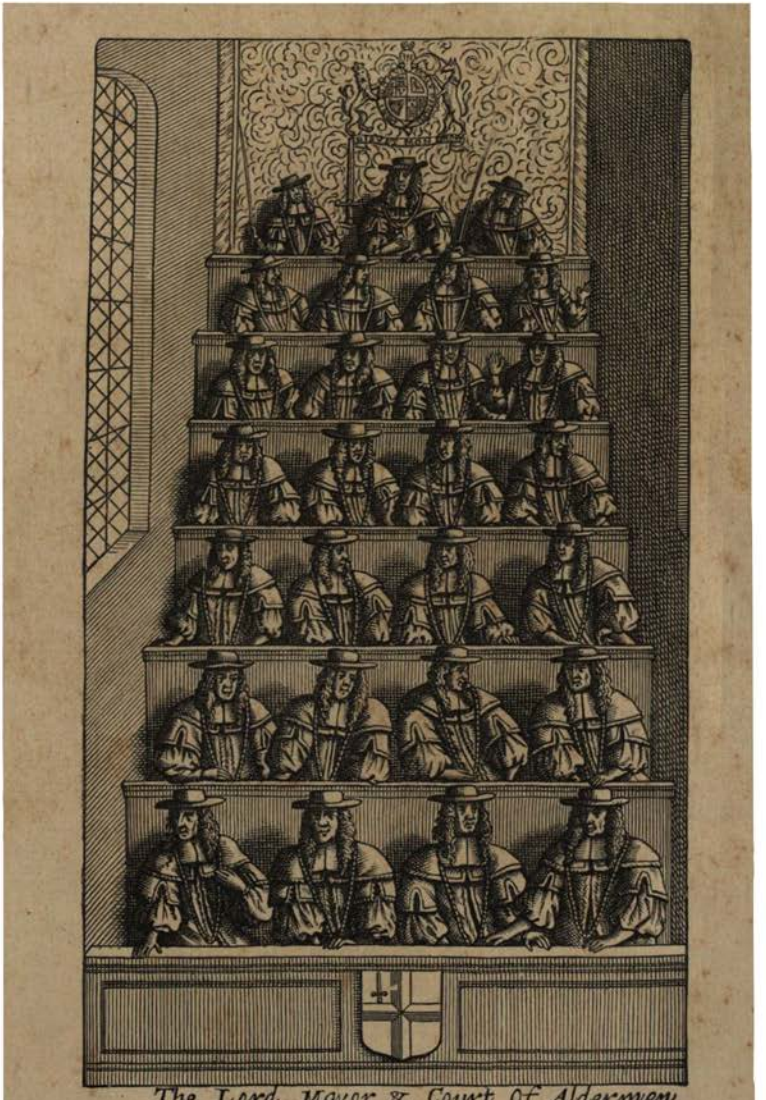
every pulpit; and the Universities solemnly decided that "no religion, no law, no fault, no forfeiture," could avail to bar the sacred right of hereditary succession. The arrest of Shaftesbury on a charge of suborning false witnesses to the Plot marked the new strength of the Crown. London indeed was still true to him; the Middlesex Grand Jury ignored the bill of his indictment; and his discharge from the Tower was welcomed in every street with bonfires and ringing of bells. But a fresh impulse was given to the loyal enthusiasm of the country at large by the publication of a plan said to have been found among his papers, the plan of a secret association for the furtherance of the Exclusion, whose members bound themselves to obey the orders of Parliament even after its

MEDAL STRUCK TO COMMEMORATE SHAFTESBURY'S ACQUITTAL, 1681.

prorogation or dissolution by the Crown. So general was the reaction that Halifax advised the calling of a new Parliament in the belief that it would be a loyal one. William of Orange too visited England to take advantage of the turn of affairs to pin Charles to the policy of the Alliance; but the King met both counsels with evasion. He pushed boldly on in his new course. He confirmed the loyalty of the Church by a renewed persecution of the Nonconformists, which drove Penn from England and thus brought about the settlement of Pennsylvania as a refuge for his fellow Quakers. He was soon strong enough to call back James to Court. Monmouth, who had resumed his progresses through the country as a means of checking the tide of reaction, was arrested.

The friendship of a Tory mayor secured the nomination of Tory sheriffs in London, and the juries they packed left the life of every



Frontispiece to De Laune, "Present State of London," 1681.

Exclusionist at the mercy of the Crown. Shaftesbury, alive to the new danger, plunged madly into conspiracies with a handful of

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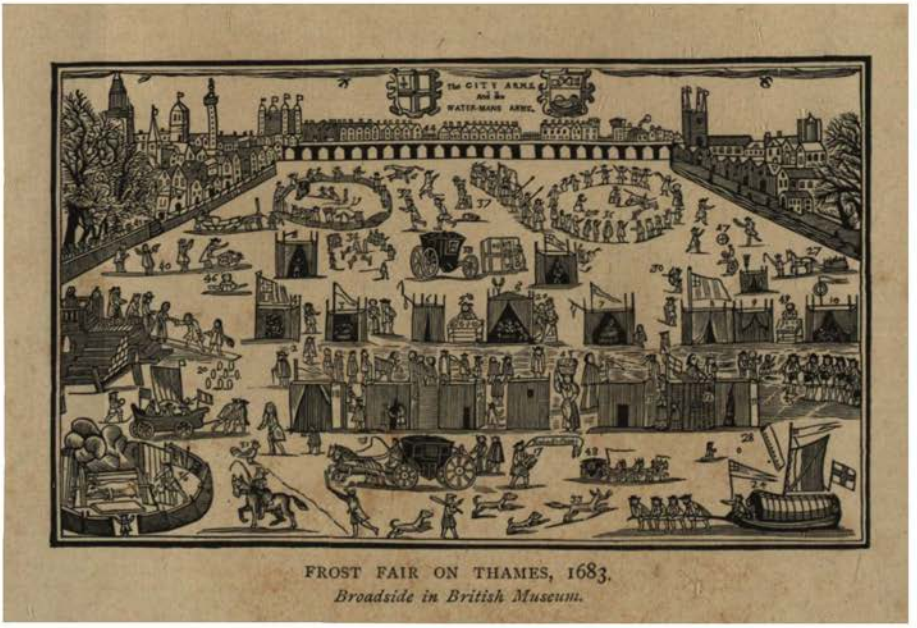
adventurers as desperate as himself, hid himself in the City, where he boasted that ten thousand "brisk boys" were ready to appear at his call, and urged his friends to rise in arms. But their delays drove him to flight; and two months after his arrival in Holland,

Jan. 1683

the soul of the great leader, great from his immense energy and the wonderful versatility of his genius, but whose genius and energy had ended in wrecking for the time the fortunes of English freedom, and in associating the noblest of causes with the vilest of crimes, found its first quiet in death.



FROST FAIR ON THAMES, 1683.
Broadside in British Museum.

LEAD AND COAL MINES AT MOSTYN, 1684.
T. Dineley. "Progress of the Duke of Beaufort through Wales," 1684.

Section VI.—The Second Stuart Tyranny, 1682—1688

[*Authorities.*—To those given before we may add Welwood's "Memoirs," Luttrell's "Diary," and above all Lord Macaulay's "History of England."]

The Royal Triumph

The flight of Shaftesbury proclaimed the triumph of the King. His marvellous sagacity had told him when the struggle was over and further resistance useless. But the country leaders, who had delayed to answer the Earl's call, still believed opposition possible; and Monmouth, with Lord Essex, Lord Howard of Ettrick, Lord Russell, Hampden, and Algernon Sidney held meetings with the view of founding an association whose agitation should force on the King the assembly of a Parliament. The more desperate spirits who had clustered round him as he lay hidden in the City took refuge in plots of assassination, and in a plan for murdering Charles

SEC. VI
THE SECOND STUART TYRANNY
1682 TO 1688
Rye-house Plot

and his brother as they passed the Rye-house on their road from London to Newmarket. Both projects were betrayed, and though they were wholly distinct from one another the cruel ingenuity of

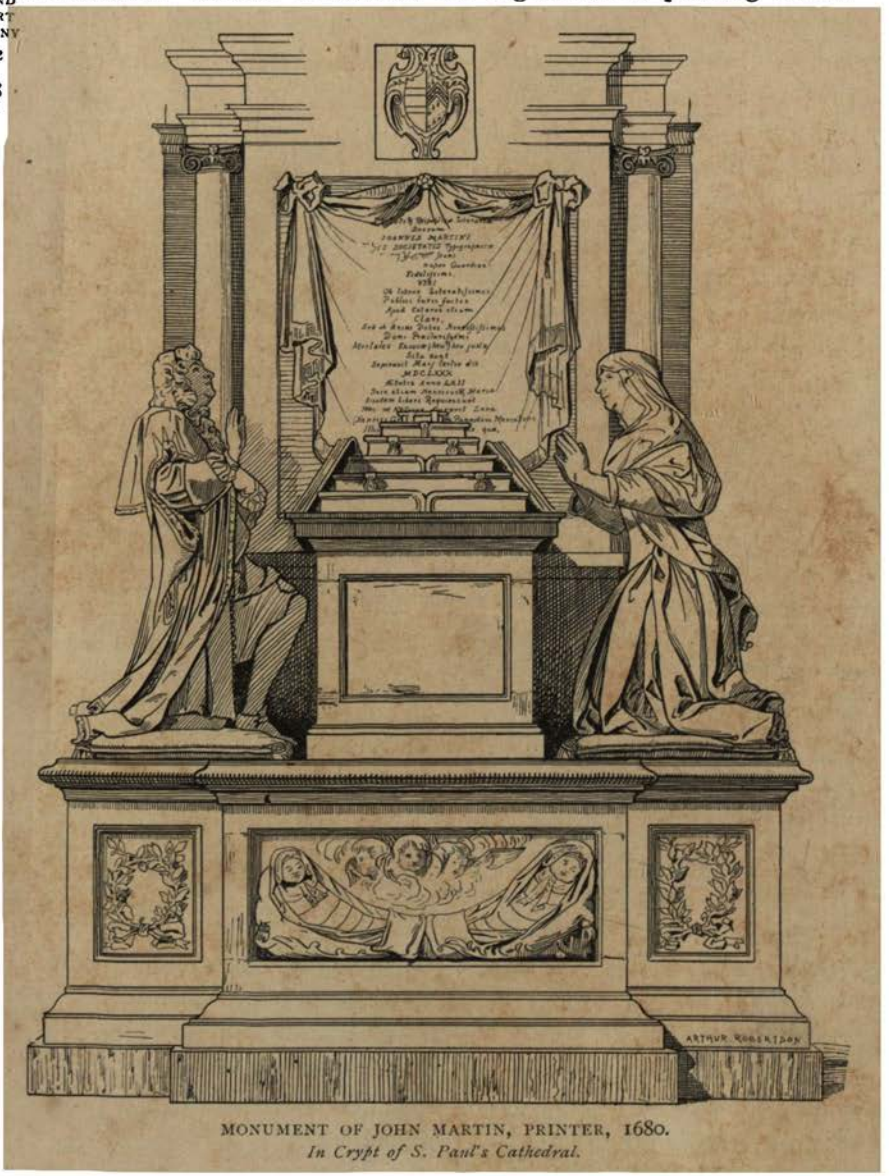
WILLIAM, LORD RUSSELL.
From an engraving by Pieter van der Banck, after Sir Godfrey Kneller.

the Crown lawyers blended them into one. Lord Essex saved himself from a traitor's death by suicide in the Tower. Lord Russell, convicted on a charge of sharing in the Rye-house plot, was beheaded in Lincoln's Inn Fields. The same fate awaited

Algernon Sidney. Monmouth fled in terror over sea, and his flight was followed by a series of prosecutions for sedition directed against his followers. In 1683 the Constitutional opposition which had held Charles so long in check lay crushed at his feet. A weaker man might easily have been led into a wild tyranny by the mad outburst of loyalty which greeted his triumph. On the very day when the crowd around Russell's scaffold were dipping their handkerchiefs in his blood, as in the blood of a martyr, the University of Oxford solemnly declared that the doctrine of passive obedience, even to the worst of rulers, was a part of religion. But Charles saw that immense obstacles still lay in the road of a mere tyranny. The great Tory party which had rallied to his succour against the Exclusionists were still steady for parliamentary and legal government. The Church was as powerful as ever, and the mention of a renewal of the Indulgence to Nonconformists had to be withdrawn before the opposition of the bishops. He was careful therefore during the few years which remained to him to avoid the appearance of any open violation of public law. He suspended no statute. He imposed no tax by royal authority. Nothing indeed shows more completely how great a work the Long Parliament had done than a survey of the reign of Charles the Second. "The King," Hallam says very truly, "was restored to nothing but what the law had preserved to him." No attempt was made to restore the abuses which the patriots of 1641 had swept away. Parliament was continually summoned. In spite of its frequent refusal of supplies, no attempt was ever made to raise money by unconstitutional means. The few illegal proclamations issued under Clarendon ceased with his fall. No effort was made to revive the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission; and if judges were servile and juries sometimes packed, there was no open interference with the course of justice. In two remarkable points freedom had made an advance even on 1641. From the moment when printing began to tell on public opinion, it had been gagged by a system of licences. The regulations framed under Henry the Eighth subjected the press to the control of the Star Chamber, and the Martin Marprelate libels brought about a yet more stringent control under Elizabeth. Even the Long Parliament laid a heavy hand on the press, and the great remonstrance of

Freedom of the Press

Milton in his "Areopagitica" fell dead on the ears of his Puritan associates. But the statute for the regulation of printing which



MONUMENT OF JOHN MARTIN, PRINTER, 1680.
In Crypt of S. Paul's Cathedral.

was passed immediately after the Restoration expired finally in 1679, and the temper of the Parliament at once put an end to any attempt at re-establishing the censorship. To the new freedom of

the press the Habeas Corpus Act added a new security for the personal freedom of every Englishman. Against arbitrary imprisonment provision had been made in the earliest ages by a famous clause in the Great Charter. No free man could be held in prison save on charge or conviction of crime or for debt, and every prisoner on a criminal charge could demand as a right from the Court of King's Bench the issue of a writ of "habeas corpus," which bound his gaoler to produce both the prisoner and the warrant on which he was imprisoned, that the court might judge whether he was imprisoned according to law. In cases however of imprisonment on a warrant of the royal Council it had been sometimes held by judges that the writ could not be issued, and under Clarendon's administration instances had in this way occurred of imprisonment without legal remedy. But his fall was quickly followed by the introduction of a bill to secure this right of the subject, and after a long struggle the Act which is known as the Habeas Corpus Act passed finally in 1679. By this great statute the old practice of the law was freed from all difficulties and exceptions. Every prisoner committed for any crime save treason or felony was declared entitled to his writ even in the vacations of the courts, and heavy penalties were enforced on judges or gaolers who refused him this right. Every person committed for felony or treason was entitled to be released on bail, unless indicted at the next session of gaol delivery after his commitment, and to be discharged if not indicted at the sessions which followed. It was forbidden under the heaviest penalties to send a prisoner into any places or fortresses beyond the seas.

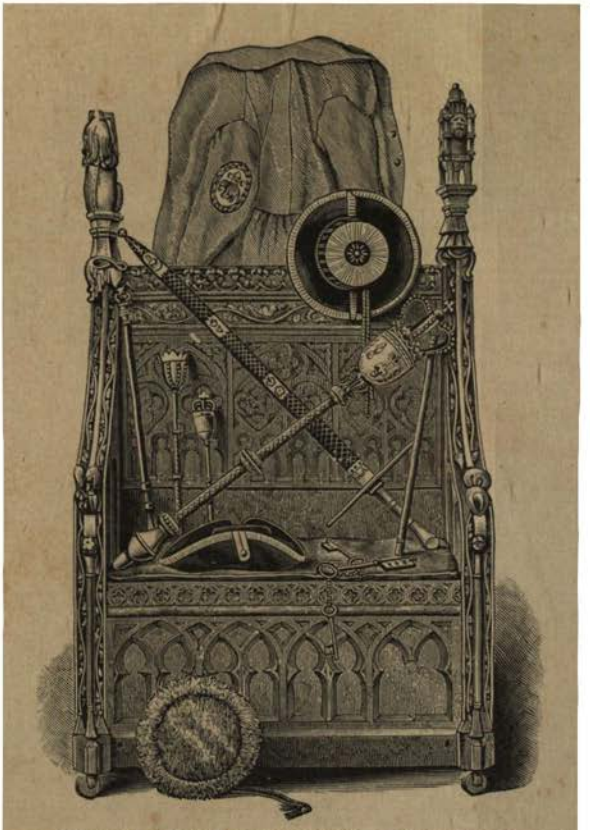
Habeas Corpus Act

Galling to the Crown as the freedom of the press and the Habeas Corpus Act were soon found to be, Charles made no attempt to curtail the one or to infringe the other. But while cautious to avoid rousing popular resistance, he moved coolly and resolutely forward on the path of despotism. It was in vain that Halifax pressed for energetic resistance to the aggressions of France, for the recall of Monmouth, or for the calling of a fresh Parliament. Like every other English statesman he found he had been duped, and that now his work was done he was suffered to remain in office but left without any influence in the government. Hyde, who was created Earl of Rochester, still remained at the head

Death of Charles

"THE ABOLITION OF MONARCHY."
Nalson, "Collection of Affairs of State," 1683.

of the Treasury; but Charles soon gave more of his confidence to the supple and acute Sunderland. Parliament, in defiance of the Triennial Act, which after having been repealed had been re-enacted but without the safeguards of the original act, remained unassembled during the remainder of the King's reign. His secret alliance with France furnished Charles with the funds he immediately required, and the rapid growth of the customs through the increase of English commerce promised to give him a revenue which, if peace were preserved, would save him from the need of a fresh appeal to the Commons. All opposition was at an end. The strength of the Country party had been broken by its own dissensions over the Exclusion Bill, and by the flight or death of its more prominent leaders. Whatever strength it retained lay chiefly in the towns, and these were now attacked by writs of "quo warranto," which called on them to show cause why their charters should not be declared forfeited on the ground of abuse of their privileges. A few verdicts on the side of the Crown brought about a general surrender of municipal liberties; and the grant of fresh charters, in which all but ultra-loyalists were carefully excluded from their corporations, placed the representation of the boroughs in the hands



INSIGNIA OF THE CORPORATION OF COVENTRY.
Seventeenth Century.
Art Journal.

New Town Charters

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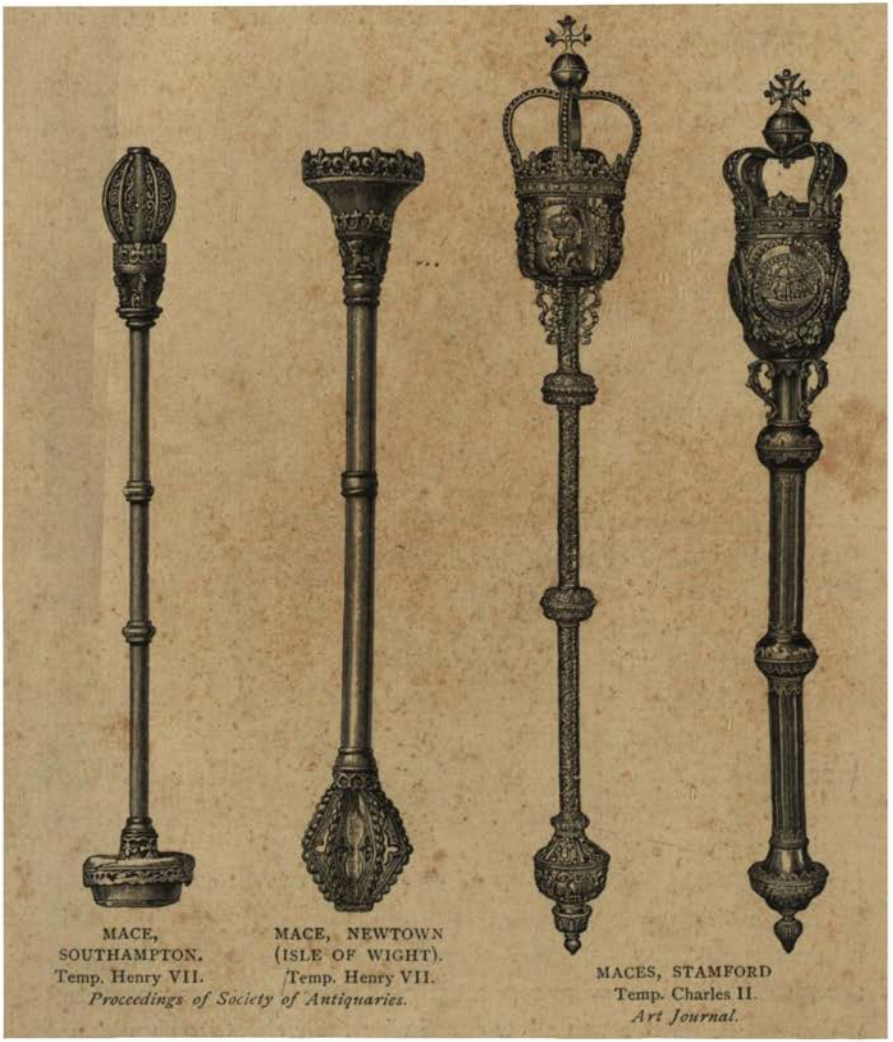
of the Crown. Against active discontent Charles had long been quietly providing by the gradual increase of his Guards. The withdrawal of its garrison from Tangier enabled him to raise their force to nine thousand well-equipped soldiers, and to supplement

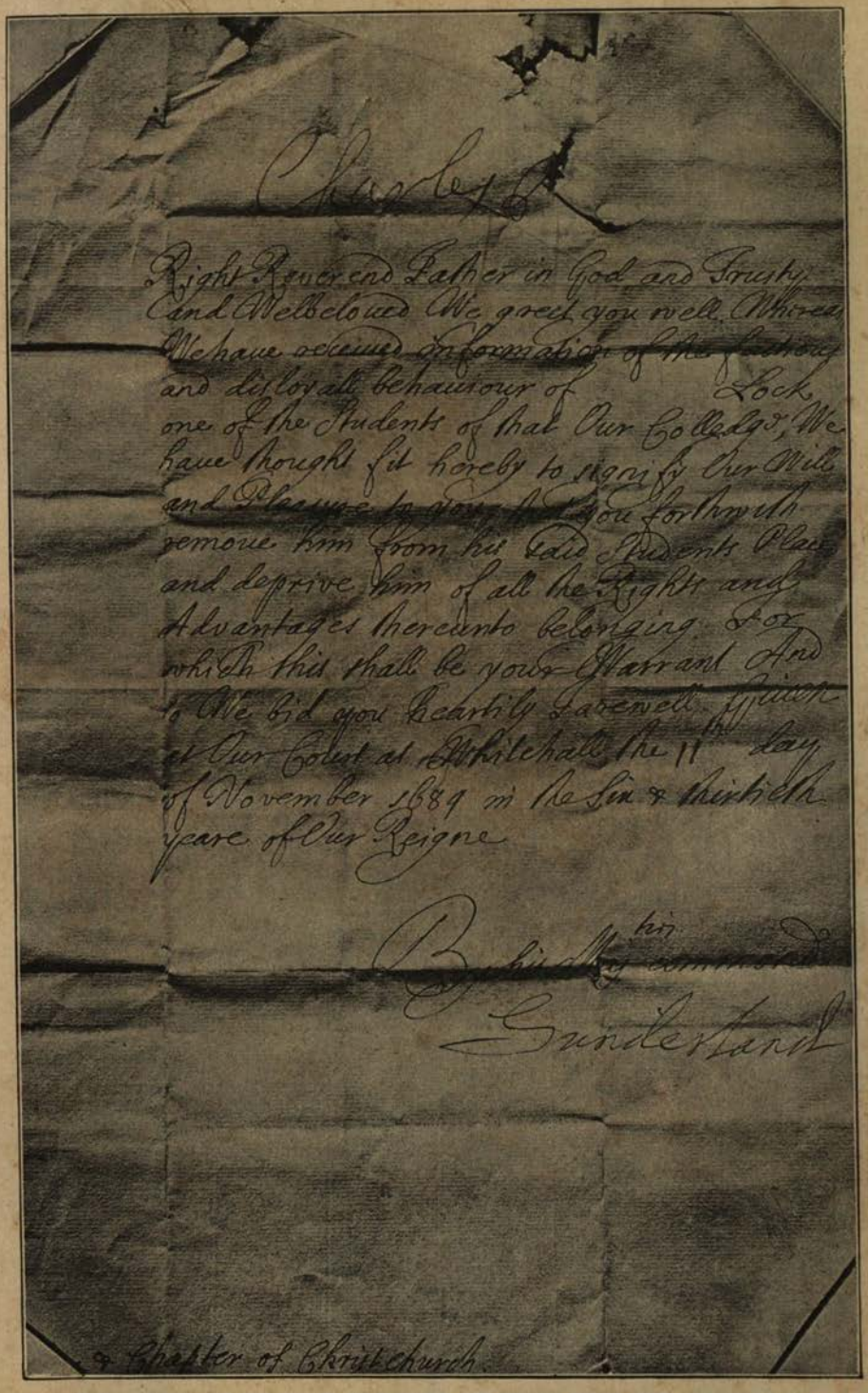


MACE, SOUTHAMPTON. Temp. Henry VII. *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries.*

MACE, NEWTOWN (ISLE OF WIGHT). Temp. Henry VII.

MACES, STAMFORD Temp. Charles II. *Art Journal.*

this force, the nucleus of our present standing army, by a reserve of six regiments, which were maintained till they should be needed at home at the service of the United Provinces. But great as the danger really was, it lay not so much in isolated acts of tyranny as in the character and purpose of Charles himself. His death at the



Charles

Right Reverend Father in God and Trusty
and Welbeloved We greet you well. Whereas
We have received Information of the factious
and disloyall behaviour of Lock
one of the Students of that Our Colledge, We
have thought fit hereby to signify Our Will
and Pleasure to you, that you forthwith
remove him from his said Students Place
and deprive him of all the Rights and
Advantages thereunto belonging. For
which this shall be your Warrant And
so We bid you heartily Farewell. Given
at Our Court at Whitehall the 11th day
of November 1684 in the Six & thirtieth
yeare of Our Reigne

By his Maj^ties command
Sunderland

& Chapter of Christchurch

ROYAL MANDATE TO ERASE THE NAME OF LOCKE FROM THE STUDENTS OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD, 1684.

ENTHRONEMENT OF JAMES II. AND HIS QUEEN.
Sandford, "Coronation of James II.," 1687.

very moment of his triumph saved English freedom. He had regained his old popularity, and at the news of his sickness crowds thronged the churches, praying that God would raise him up again to be a father to his people. But the one anxiety of the King was to die reconciled to the Catholic Church. His chamber was cleared and a priest named Huddleston, who had saved his life after the battle of Worcester, received his confession and administered the last sacraments. Not a word of this ceremony was whispered when the nobles and bishops were recalled into the royal presence. All the children of his mistresses save Monmouth were gathered round the bed. Charles "blessed all his children one by one, pulling them on to his bed; and then the bishops moved him, as he was the Lord's anointed and the father of his country, to bless them also and all that were there present, and in them the general body of his subjects. Whereupon, the room being full, all fell down upon their knees, and he raised himself in his bed and very solemnly blessed them all." The strange comedy was at last over. Charles died as he had lived: brave, witty, cynical, even in the presence of death. Tortured as he was with pain, he begged the bystanders to forgive him for being so unconscionable a time in dying. One mistress, the Duchess of Portsmouth, hung weeping over his bed. His last thought was of another mistress, Nell Gwynn. "Do not," he whispered to his successor ere he sank into a fatal stupor, "do not let poor Nelly starve!"

1685

James the Second

The first words of James on his accession in February 1685, his promise "to preserve the Government both in Church and State as it is now by law established," were welcomed by the whole country with enthusiasm. All the suspicions of a Catholic sovereign seemed to have disappeared. "We have the word of a King!" ran the general cry, "and of a King who was never worse than his word." The conviction of his brother's faithlessness stood James in good stead. He was looked upon as narrow, impetuous, stubborn, and despotic in heart, but even his enemies did not accuse him of being false. Above all he was believed to be keenly alive to the honour of his country, and resolute to free it from foreign dependence. It was necessary to summon a Parliament, for the royal revenue ceased with the death of Charles; but the

THE CHALLENGE AT THE CORONATION OF JAMES II.
Sandford, "Coronation of James II.," 1687.

elections, swayed at once by the tide of loyalty and by the command of the boroughs which the surrender of their charters had

JAMES II.
Illumination on Patent in Public Record Office.

given to the Crown, sent up a House of Commons in which James found few members who were not to his mind. The question of religious security was waived at a hint of the royal displeasure.

Sec. VI
The Second Stuart Tyranny
1682 to 1688

A revenue of nearly two millions was granted to the King for life. All that was wanted to rouse the loyalty of the country into fanaticism was supplied by a rebellion in the North, and by another under Monmouth in the West. The hopes of Scotch freedom had clung ever since the Restoration to the house of Argyll. The great Marquis, indeed, had been brought to the block at the King's return. His son, the Earl of Argyll, had been unable to save himself even by a life of singular caution and obedience from the ill-will of the vile politicians who governed Scotland. He was at last convicted of treason in 1682 on grounds at which every English statesman stood aghast. "We should not hang a dog here," Halifax protested, "on the grounds on which my lord Argyll has been sentenced to death." The Earl escaped however to Holland, and lived peacefully there during the last years of the reign of Charles. Monmouth had found the same refuge at the Hague, where a belief in the King's purpose to recall him secured him a kindly reception from William of Orange. But the accession of James was a death-blow to the hopes of the Duke, while it stirred the fanaticism of Argyll to a resolve of wresting Scotland from the rule of a Catholic king. The two leaders determined to appear in arms in England and the North, and the two expeditions sailed within a few days of each other. Argyll's attempt was soon over. His clan of the Campbells rose on his landing in Cantyre, but the country had been occupied for the King, and quarrels among the exiles who accompanied him robbed his effort of every chance of success. His force scattered without a fight; and Argyll, arrested in an attempt to escape, was hurried to a traitor's death.

Argyll's rising

Monmouth's rising

Monmouth for a time found brighter fortune. His popularity in the West was great, and though the gentry held aloof when he landed at Lyme, and demanded effective parliamentary government and freedom of worship for Protestant Nonconformists, the farmers and traders of Devonshire and Dorset flocked to his standard. The clothier-towns of Somerset were true to the Whig cause, and on the entrance of the Duke into Taunton the popular enthusiasm showed itself in flowers which wreathed every door, as well as in a train of young girls who presented Monmouth with a Bible and a flag. His forces now amounted to six thousand men, but whatever chance of success he might have had was lost by his

assumption of the title of king. The Houses supported James, and passed a bill of attainder against the Duke. The gentry, still true to the cause of Mary and of William, held stubbornly aloof; while the Guards hurried to the scene of the revolt, and the militia gathered to the royal standard. Foiled in an attempt on Bristol and Bath, Monmouth fell back on Bridgewater, and flung himself

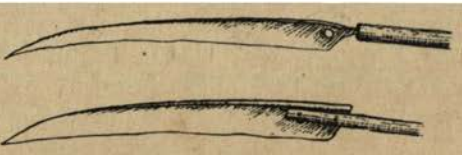
BRIDGEWATER HIGH CROSS.
Proceedings of Somerset Archæological Society.

in the night of the sixth of July, 1685, on the King's forces, which lay encamped on Sedgemoor. The surprise failed; and the brave peasants and miners who followed the Duke, checked in their advance by a deep drain which crossed the moor, were broken after a short resistance by the royal horse. Their leader fled from the field, and after a vain effort to escape from the realm, was captured and sent pitilessly to the block.

The Bloody Circuit

Never had England shown a firmer loyalty; but its loyalty was changed into horror by the terrible measures of repression

which followed on the victory of Sedgemoor. Even North, the Lord Keeper, a servile tool of the Crown, protested against the



SCYTHES PICKED UP AT SEDGEMOOR; USED AS WEAPONS BY THE PEASANTS.
Tower of London.

licence and bloodshed in which the troops were suffered to indulge after the battle. His protest however was disregarded, and he withdrew broken-hearted from the Court to die. James was, in fact, resolved on a far more terrible vengeance; and the Chief-

BATTLE OF SEDGEMOOR.
"Engelants Schouwtoneel," &c., Amsterdam, 1690.

Justice Jeffreys, a man of great natural powers but of violent temper, was sent to earn the Seals by a series of judicial murders which have left his name a byword for cruelty. Three hundred and fifty rebels were hanged in the "Bloody Circuit," as Jeffreys made his way through Dorset and Somerset. More than eight

hundred were sold into slavery beyond sea. A yet larger number were whipped and imprisoned. The Queen, the maids of honour, the courtiers, even the Judge himself, made shameless profit from the sale of pardons. What roused pity above all were the cruelties wreaked upon women. Some were scourged from market-town to market-town. Mrs. Lisle, the wife of one of the Regicides, was

LORD JEFFREYS AS CHIEF JUSTICE.
From an engraving by R. White, after Sir Godfrey Kneller.

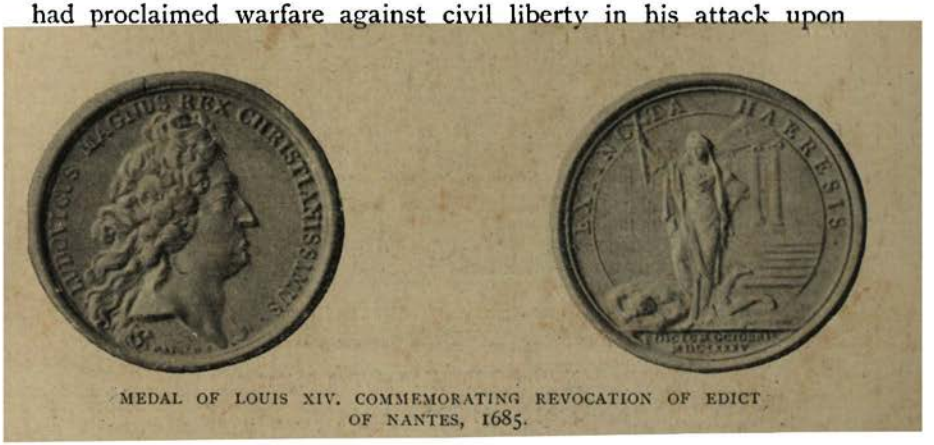
sent to the block at Winchester for harbouring a rebel. Elizabeth Gaunt, for the same act of womanly charity, was burned at Tyburn. Pity turned into horror when it was found that cruelty such as this was avowed and sanctioned by the King. Even the cold heart of General Churchill, to whose energy the victory of Sedgemoor had mainly been owing, revolted at the ruthlessness with which James turned away from all appeals for mercy. "This marble," he cried as he struck the chimney-piece on which he leant, "is not harder

"THE DUKE OF YORK'S HORSE GUARDS."
From Hollar's engraving of the Coronation Procession of Charles II.

than the King's heart." But it was soon plain that the terror which the butchery was meant to strike into the people was part of a larger purpose. The revolt was made a pretext for a vast increase of the standing army. Charles, as we have seen, had silently and cautiously raised it to nearly ten thousand men; James raised it at one swoop to twenty thousand. The employment of this force was to be at home, not abroad, for the hope of an English policy in foreign affairs had already faded away. In the designs which James had at heart he could look for no consent from Parliament; and however his pride revolted against a dependence on France, it was only by French gold and French soldiers that he could hope to hold the Parliament permanently at bay. A week therefore after his accession he assured Lewis that his gratitude and devotion to him equalled that of Charles himself. "Tell your master," he said to the French ambassador, "that without his protection I can do nothing. He has a right to be consulted, and it is my wish to consult him, about everything." The pledge of subserviency was rewarded with the promise of a subsidy, and the promise was received with the strongest expressions of delight and servility.

The Tyranny

Never had the secret league with France seemed so full of danger to English religion. Europe had long been trembling at the ambition of Lewis; it was trembling now at his bigotry. He had proclaimed warfare against civil liberty in his attack upon



MEDAL OF LOUIS XIV. COMMEMORATING REVOCATION OF EDICT OF NANTES, 1685.

Holland; he declared war at this moment upon religious freedom by revoking the Edict of Nantes, the measure by which Henry

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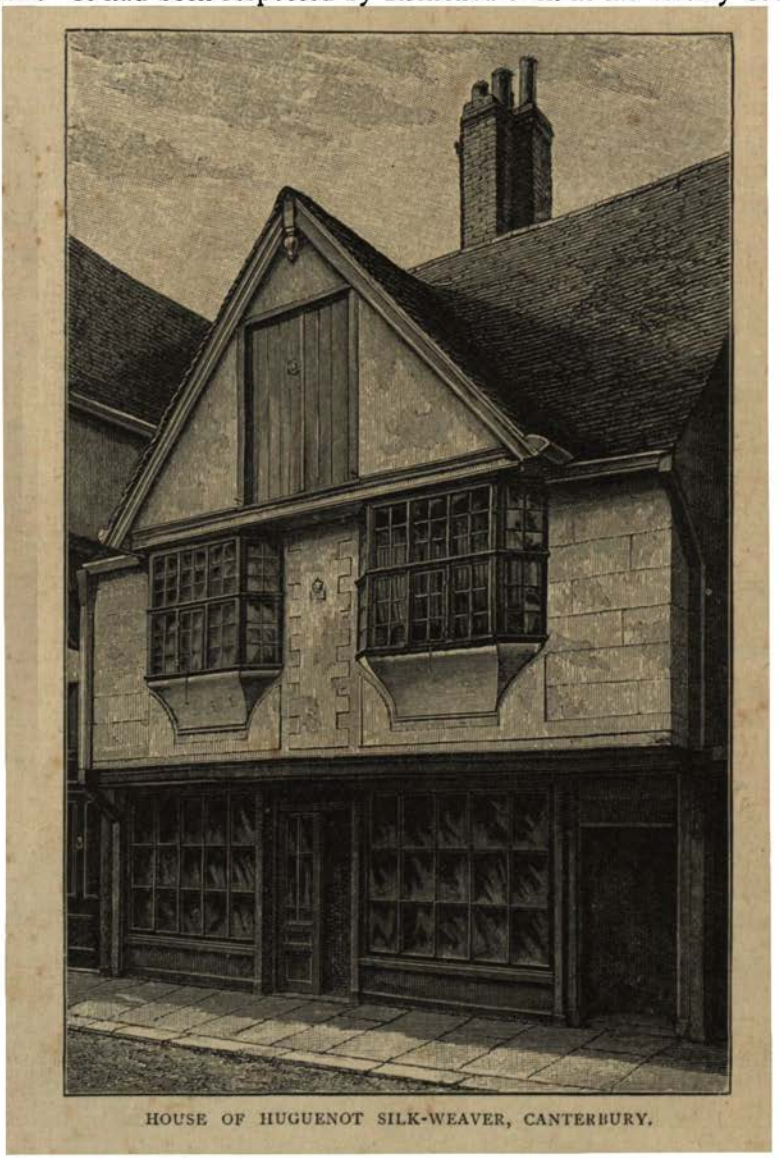
the Fourth after his abandonment of Protestantism secured toleration and the free exercise of their worship for his Protestant subjects. It had been respected by Richelieu even in his victory over



HOUSE OF HUGUENOT SILK-WEAVER, CANTERBURY.

the Huguenots, and only lightly tampered with by Mazarin. But from the beginning of his reign Lewis had resolved to set aside its provisions, and his revocation of it in 1685 was only the natural

close of a progressive system of persecution. The Revocation was followed by outrages more cruel than even the bloodshed of Alva. Dragoons were quartered on Protestant families, women were flung from their sick-beds into the streets, children were torn from their mothers' arms to be brought up in Catholicism, ministers were sent

Jacob Stampe liuing atye Sighn of the Callico
Printer in Hounsditch Prints all sorts of
Callicoes Lineings Silkes Stuffe
New or Ould at Reasonable Rates

STAMPING CALICO.
Temp. James II.
Bagford Collection, British Museum.

to the galleys. In spite of the royal edicts, which forbade even flight to the victims of these horrible atrocities, a hundred thousand Protestants fled over the borders, and Holland, Switzerland, the Palatinate, were filled with French exiles. Thousands found refuge in England, and their industry founded in the fields east of London the silk trade of Spitalfields. But while Englishmen were

POPE INNOCENT XI. RECEIVING THE AMBASSADOR OF JAMES II., 1687.
Wright, "Account of the Earl of Castlemaine's Embassy." 1688.

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1686

looking with horror on these events in France, James drew from them new hopes. In defiance of the law he was filling his fresh regiments with Catholic officers. He dismissed Halifax from the Privy Council on his refusal to consent to a plan for repealing the Test Act. He met the Parliament with a haughty declaration that whether legal or no his grant of commissions to Catholics must not be questioned, and with a demand of supplies for his new troops. Loyal as was the temper of the Houses, their alarm for the Church, their dread of a standing army, was yet stronger than their loyalty. The Commons by the majority of a single vote deferred the grant of supplies till grievances were redressed, and demanded in their address the recall of the illegal commissions. The Lords took a bolder tone; and the protest of the bishops against any infringement of the Test Act was backed by the eloquence of Halifax. But both Houses were at once prorogued. The King resolved to obtain from the judges what he could not obtain from Parliament. He remodelled the bench by dismissing four judges who refused to lend themselves to his plans; and their successors decided in the case of Sir Edward Hales, a Catholic officer in the army, that a royal dispensation could be pleaded in bar of the Test Act. The principle laid down by the judges asserted the right of the King to dispense with penal laws according to his own judgment, and it was applied by James with a reckless impatience of all decency and self-restraint. Catholics were admitted into civil and military offices without stint, and four Catholic peers were sworn as members of the Privy Council. The laws which forbade the presence of Catholic priests in the realm, or the open exercise of Catholic worship, were set at nought. A gorgeous chapel was opened in the palace of St. James for the worship of the King. Carmelites, Benedictines, Franciscans, appeared in their religious garb in the streets of London, and the Jesuits set up a crowded school in the Savoy.

The Test Act set aside

James and the Church

The quick growth of discontent at these acts would have startled a wiser man into prudence, but James prided himself on an obstinacy which never gave way; and a riot which took place on the opening of a fresh Catholic chapel in the City was followed by the establishment of a camp of thirteen thousand men at Hounslow to overawe the capital. The course which James intended to

GRADVALE ROMANVM

IVXTA MISSALE

EX DECRETO SACRO-SANCTI
Concilij Tridentini.

PII. V. PONT. MAX. JUSSU EDITUM,
ET
CLEMENTIS VIII. PRIMVM,
NUNC DENUO,

VRBANI PAPÆ OCTAVI

AUCTORITATE RECOGNITVM.

Cujus Sanctitas, ne vetus Graduale recudatur, gravi interminatione sanxit.

Cui additus est Cantus Missarum omnium votivarum, qui antehac desiderabatur: item Cantus & Modulationes Kyriales, Hymni Angelici, Symboli Apostolorum, ac omnium præterea quæ in singulis Missis passim decantari solent.

Adjecta sunt tandem, Sanctorum omnium Officia, quorum nomina in Kalendario Romano descripta reperiuntur.

LUTETIÆ PARISIORUM,
Apud CLAUDIUM JOSSE, viâ Jacobeâ sub signo Columbarum.

M. DC. LXVIII.
CUM APPROBATIONE.

TITLE-PAGE OF MISSAL GIVEN BY JAMES II. TO JOHN BRENAN, ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.

Library of S. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.

follow in England was shown by the course he was following in the sister kingdoms. In Scotland he acted as a pure despot. He placed its government in the hands of two lords, Melfort and Perth, who had embraced his own religion, and put a Catholic in command of the Castle of Edinburgh. The Scotch Parliament had as yet been the mere creature of the Crown, but servile as were its members there was a point at which their servility stopped. When James boldly required them to legalize the toleration of Catholics, they refused to pass such an Act. It was in vain that the King tempted them to consent by the offer of a free trade with England. "Shall we sell our God?" was the indignant reply. James at once ordered the Scotch judges to treat all laws against Catholics as null and void, and his orders were obeyed. In Ireland his policy threw off even the disguise of law. Catholics were admitted by the King's command to the Council and to civil offices.

SATIRICAL PLAYING-CARD.
Temp. James II.
British Museum.

A Catholic, Lord Tyrconnell, was put at the head of the army, and set instantly about its re-organization by cashiering Protestant officers and by admitting two thousand Catholic natives into its ranks. Meanwhile James had begun in England a bold and systematic attack upon the Church. He regarded his ecclesiastical supremacy as a weapon providentially left to him for undoing the work which it had enabled his predecessors

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to do. Under Henry and Elizabeth it had been used to turn the Church of England from Catholic to Protestant. Under James it should be used to turn it back again from Protestant to Catholic. The High Commission indeed had been declared illegal by an Act of the Long Parliament, and this Act had been confirmed by the Parliament of the Restoration. But it was thought possible to evade this Act by omitting from the instructions on which the Commission acted the extraordinary powers and jurisdictions by which its predecessor had given offence. With this reserve, seven commissioners were appointed for the government of the Church, with Jeffreys at their head; and the first blow of the Commission was at the Bishop of London. James had forbidden the clergy to preach against "the King's religion," and ordered Bishop Compton to suspend a London vicar who set this order at defiance. The Bishop's refusal was punished by his own suspension. But the pressure of the Commission only drove the clergy to a bolder defiance of the royal will. Sermons against superstition were preached from every pulpit; and the two most famous divines of the day, Tillotson and Stillingfleet, put themselves at the head of a host of controversialists who scattered pamphlets and tracts from every printing press.

The High Commission 1686

Declaration of Indulgence

It was in vain that the bulk of the Catholic gentry stood aloof and predicted the inevitable reaction his course must bring about, or that Rome itself counselled greater moderation. James was infatuated with what seemed to be the success of his enterprises. He looked on the opposition he experienced as due to the influence of the High Church Tories who had remained in power since the reaction of 1681, and these he determined "to chastise." The Duke of Queensberry, the leader of this party in Scotland, was driven from office. Tyrconnell, as we have seen, was placed as a check on Ormond in Ireland. In England James resolved to show the world that even the closest ties of blood were as nothing to him if they conflicted with the demands of his faith. His earlier marriage with Anne Hyde, the daughter of Clarendon, bound both the Chancellor's sons to his fortunes; and on his accession he had sent his elder brother-in-law, Henry, Earl of Clarendon, as Lord-Lieutenant to Ireland, and raised the younger, Laurence, Earl of Rochester, to the post of Lord Treasurer. But Rochester was now

told that the King could not safely entrust so great a charge to any one who did not share his sentiments on religion, and on his refusal to abandon his faith he was deprived of the White Staff. His brother, Clarendon, shared his fall. A Catholic, Lord Bellasys, became First Lord of the Treasury, which was put into commission after Rochester's removal; and another Catholic, Lord Arundel, became Lord Privy Seal, while Father Petre, a Jesuit, was called to the Privy Council. One official after another who refused to aid in the repeal of the Test Act was dismissed. In defiance of the law the Nuncio of the Pope was received in state at Windsor. But even James could hardly fail to perceive the growth of public discontent. If the great Tory nobles were staunch for the Crown, they were as resolute Englishmen in their hatred of mere tyranny as the Whigs themselves. James gave the Duke of Norfolk the sword of State to carry before him as he went to Mass. The Duke stopped at the Chapel door. "Your father would have gone further," said the King. "Your Majesty's father was the better man," replied the Duke, "and he would not have gone so far." The young Duke of Somerset was ordered to introduce the Nuncio into the Presence Chamber. "I am advised," he answered, "that I cannot obey your Majesty without breaking the law." "Do you not know that I am above the law?" James asked angrily. "Your Majesty may be, but I am not," retorted the Duke. He was dismissed from his post; but the spirit of resistance spread fast. In spite of the King's letters the governors of the Charter House, who numbered among them some of the greatest English nobles, refused to admit a Catholic to the benefits of the founda-

1687

The Tory nobles

HALBERT FROM ROME.
Seventeenth Century.
Tower of London.

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tion. The most devoted loyalists began to murmur when James demanded apostasy as a proof of their loyalty. He had soon in fact to abandon all hope of bringing the Church or the Tories over to his will. He turned, as Charles had turned, to the Nonconformists, and published in 1687 a Declaration of Indulgence which suspended the operation of the penal laws against Nonconformists and Catholics alike, and of every Act which imposed a test as a qualification for office in Church or State. The temptation to accept the Indulgence was great, for since the fall of Shaftesbury persecution had fallen heavily on the Protestant dissidents, and we can hardly wonder that the Nonconformists wavered for a time, or that numerous addresses of thanks were presented to James. But the great body of them, and all the more venerable names among them, remained true to the cause of freedom. Baxter, Howe, and Bunyan all refused an Indulgence which could only be purchased by the violent overthrow of the law. It was plain that the attempt to divide the forces of Protestantism had utterly failed, and that the only mode of securing his end was to procure a repeal of the Test Act from Parliament itself.

The Non-conformists

James and the Universities

The temper of the existing Houses however remained absolutely opposed to the King's project. He therefore dissolved the Parliament, and summoned a new one. But no free Parliament could be brought, as he knew, to consent to the repeal. The Lords indeed could be swamped by lavish creations of new peers. "Your troop of horse," his minister, Lord Sunderland, told Churchill, "shall be called up into the House of Lords." But it was a harder matter to secure a compliant House of Commons, The Lord-Lieutenants were directed to bring about such a "regulation" of the governing body in boroughs as would ensure the return of candidates pledged to the repeal of the Test, and to question every magistrate in their county as to his vote. Half of them at once refused, and a long list of great nobles—the Earls of Oxford, Shrewsbury, Dorset, Derby, Pembroke, Rutland, Abergavenny, Thanet, Northampton, and Abingdon—were dismissed from their Lord-Lieutenancies. The justices when questioned simply replied that they would vote according to their consciences, and send members to Parliament who would protect the Protestant religion. After repeated "regulations" it was

found impossible to form a corporate body which would return representatives willing to comply with the royal will. All thought of a Parliament had to be abandoned; and even the most bigoted courtiers counselled moderation at this proof of the stubborn opposition which James must prepare to encounter from the peers, the gentry, and the trading classes. The clergy alone still hesitated in any open act of resistance. Even the tyranny of the Commission failed to rouse into open disaffection men who had been preaching Sunday after Sunday the doctrine of passive obedience to the worst of kings. But James cared little for passive obedience. He looked on the refusal of the clergy to support his plans as freeing him from his pledge to maintain the Church as established by law; and he resolved to attack it in the great institutions which had till now been its strongholds. To secure the Universities for Catholicism was to seize the only training schools which the clergy possessed. Cambridge indeed escaped easily. A Benedictine monk who presented himself with royal letters recommending him for the degree of a Master of Arts was rejected on his refusal to sign the Articles: and the Vice-Chancellor paid for the rejection by dismissal from his office. But a violent and obstinate attack was directed against Oxford. The Master of University College, who declared himself a convert, was authorized to retain his post in defiance of the law. Massey, a Roman Catholic, was presented by the Crown to the Deanery of Christ Church. Magdalen was the wealthiest Oxford College, and James in 1687 recommended one Farmer, a Catholic of infamous life and not even qualified by statute for the office, to its vacant headship. The Fellows remonstrated, and on the rejection of their remonstrance chose Hough, one of their own number, as their President. The Ecclesiastical Commission declared the election void; and James, shamed out of his first candidate, recommended a second, Parker, Bishop of Oxford, a Catholic in heart and the meanest of his courtiers. But the Fellows held stubbornly to their legal head. It was in vain that the King visited Oxford, summoned them to his presence, and rated them as they knelt before him like schoolboys. "I am King," he said, "I will be obeyed! Go to your chapel this instant, and elect the Bishop! Let those who refuse look to it, for they shall feel the

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD, IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
Picture in Magdalen College.

whole weight of my hand!" It was seen that to give Magdalen as well as Christ Church into Catholic hands was to turn Oxford into a Catholic seminary, and the King's threats were disregarded. But they were soon carried out. A special Commission visited the University, pronounced Hough an intruder, set aside his appeal to the law, burst open the door of his President's house to install Parker in his place, and on their refusal to submit deprived the Fellows of their fellowships. The expulsion of the Fellows was followed on a like refusal by that of the Demies. Parker, who died immediately after his installation, was succeeded by a Roman Catholic bishop *in partibus*, Bonaventure Giffard, and twelve Catholics were admitted to fellowships in a single day.

The Seven Bishops

Meanwhile James clung to the hope of finding a compliant Parliament, from which he might win a repeal of the Test Act. In face of the dogged opposition of the country the elections had been adjourned; and a renewed Declaration of Indulgence was *April* 1688 intended as an appeal to the nation at large. At its close he promised to summon a Parliament in November, and he called on the electors to choose such members as would bring to a successful end the policy he had begun. His resolve, he said, was to establish universal liberty of conscience for all future time. It was in this character of a royal appeal that he ordered every clergyman to read the declaration during divine service on two successive Sundays. Little time was given for deliberation, but little time was needed. The clergy refused almost to a man to be the instruments of their own humiliation. The Declaration was read in only four of the London churches, and in these the congregation flocked out of church at the first words of it. Nearly all of the country clergy refused to obey the royal orders. The Bishops went with the rest of the clergy. A few days before the appointed Sunday Archbishop Sancroft called his suffragans together, and the six who were able to appear at Lambeth signed a temperate protest to the King, in which they declined to publish an illegal Declaration. "It is a standard of rebellion," James exclaimed as the Primate presented the paper; and the resistance of the clergy was no sooner announced to him than he determined to wreak his vengeance on the prelates who had signed the protest. He ordered the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to deprive them of their sees, but

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1688

in this matter even the Commissioners shrank from obeying him. The Chancellor, Lord Jeffreys, advised a prosecution for libel as an

THE SEVEN BISHOPS.
Picture in National Portrait Gallery.

easier mode of punishment; and the bishops, who refused to give bail, were committed on this charge to the Tower. They passed to

their prison amidst the shouts of a great multitude, the sentinels knelt for their blessing as they entered its gates, and the soldiers of the garrison drank their healths. So threatening was the temper of the nation that his ministers pressed James to give way. But his obstinacy grew with the danger. "Indulgence," he said, "ruined my father;" and on the 29th of June the bishops appeared as criminals at the bar of the King's Bench. The jury had been packed, the judges were mere tools of the Crown, but judges and jury were alike overawed by the indignation of the people at large. No sooner had the foreman of the jury uttered the words "Not guilty" than a roar of applause burst from the crowd, and horsemen spurred along every road to carry over the country the news of the acquittal.

THE SEVEN BISHOPS GOING TO THE TOWER.
"*Engelands Godsdienst en Vryheid hersteld door den Heere Prince van Oranjen,*" *Amsterdam*, 1689.

MEDAL COMMEMORATING TRIPLE VICTORY OF DENMARK OVER SWEDEN, 1677.
(Reverse.)

Section VII.—William of Orange

[*Authorities.*—As before.]

William and Europe

Amidst the tumult of the Plot and the Exclusion Bill the wiser among English statesmen had fixed their hopes steadily on the succession of Mary, the elder daughter and heiress of James. The tyranny of her father's reign made this succession the hope of the people at large. But to Europe the importance of the change, whenever it should come about, lay not so much in the succession of Mary, as in the new power which such an event would give to her husband, William Prince of Orange. We have come in fact to a moment when the struggle of England against the aggression of its King blends with the larger struggle of Europe against the aggression of Lewis the Fourteenth, and it is only by a rapid glance at the political state of the Continent that we can understand the real nature and results of the Revolution which drove James from the throne.

The Greatness of France

At this moment France was the dominant power in Christendom. The religious wars which began with the Reformation had broken the strength of the nations around her. Spain was no longer able to fight the battle of Catholicism. The Peace of Westphalia, by the independence it gave to the German princes and the jealousy it kept alive between the Protestant and Catholic powers of Germany, destroyed the strength of the Empire. The German branch of the House of Austria, spent with the long struggle of the Thirty Years' War, had enough to do in battling hard against the advance of the Turks from Hungary on Vienna. The victories of Gustavus and of the generals whom he formed had been dearly purchased by the exhaustion of Sweden. The United Provinces were as yet hardly regarded as a great power, and were trammelled by their contest with England for the empire of the seas. France alone profited by the general wreck. The wise policy of Henry the Fourth in securing religious peace by a grant

LOUIS XIV. AND OFFICERS OF HIS STAFF.
Contemporary Tapestry at Versailles.

of toleration to the Protestants had undone the ill effects of its religious wars. The Huguenots were still numerous south of the Loire, but the loss of their fortresses had turned their energies into the peaceful channels of industry and trade. Feudal disorder was roughly put down by Richelieu, and the policy which gathered all local power into the hands of the crown, though fatal in the end to the real welfare of France, gave it for the moment an air of good government, and a command over its internal resources which no other country could boast. Its compact and fertile territory, the natural activity and enterprise of its people, and the rapid growth of its commerce and manufactures, were sources of natural wealth which even its heavy taxation failed to check. In the latter half of the seventeenth century France was looked upon as the wealthiest power in Europe. The yearly income of the French crown was double that of England, and even Lewis the Fourteenth trusted as much to the credit of his treasury as to the glory of his arms. "After all," he said, when the fortunes of war began to turn against him, "it is the last louis d'or which must win!" It was in fact this superiority in wealth which enabled France to set on foot forces such as had never been seen in Europe since the downfall of Rome. At the opening of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth its army mustered a hundred thousand men. With the war against Holland it rose to nearly two hundred thousand. In the last struggle against the Grand Alliance there was a time when it counted nearly half a million of men in arms. Nor was France content with these enormous land forces. Since the ruin of Spain the fleets of Holland and of England had alone disputed the empire of the seas. Under Richelieu and Mazarin France could hardly be looked upon as a naval power. But the early years of Lewis saw the creation of a navy of 100 men-of-war, and

CARDINAL MAZARIN.
From a miniature by Petitot, in the South Kensington Museum.

MARSHAL TURENNE.

From a miniature by P. Seuin, in the South Kensington Museum.

the fleets of France soon held their own against England or the Dutch.

Such a power would have been formidable at any time ; but it was doubly formidable when directed by statesmen who in knowledge and ability were without rivals in Europe. No diplomatist

LOUIS XIV.
From an original engraving by R. Nanteuil, 1670.

could compare with Lionne, no war minister with Louvois, no financier with Colbert. Their young master, Lewis the Fourteenth, bigoted, narrow-minded, commonplace as he was, without personal honour or personal courage, without gratitude and without pity, insane in his pride, insatiable in his vanity, brutal in his selfishness, had still many of the qualities of a great ruler : industry, patience,

Volve, revolve legendi avidus noctesque dieſque
Francorum Annales, Regum, Condæe, videbis
Eventus rerum varios, Martisque labores,
Nilque tua dignum invidia; te judice gaudent
Ingentes atavorum animæ, nimiumque beatæ
Quod laveas, et te lectorem facta morentur.

LOUIS II., PRINCE DE CONDÉ.

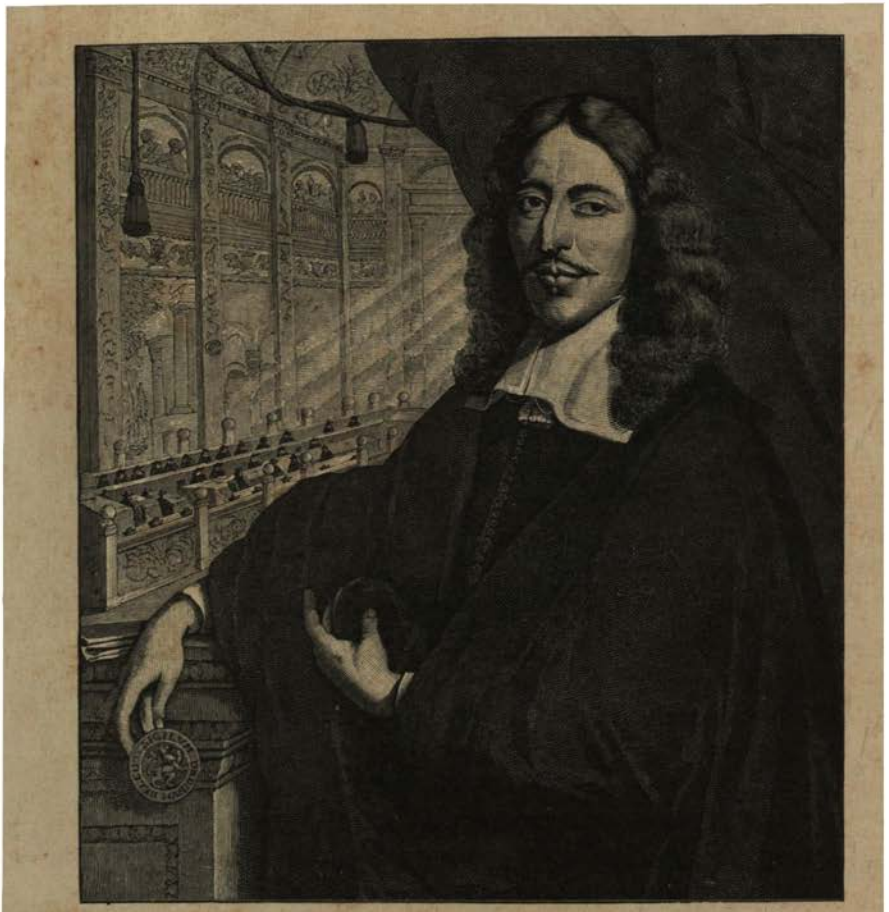
From a miniature in the South Kensington Museum.

quickness of resolve, firmness of purpose, a capacity for discerning greatness and using it, an immense self-belief and self-confidence, and a temper utterly destitute indeed of real greatness, but with a dramatic turn for seeming to be great. As a politician Lewis had simply to reap the harvest which the two great Cardinals who went before him had sown. Both had used to the profit of France the exhaustion and dissension which the wars of religion had brought upon Europe. Richelieu turned the scale against the House of Austria by his alliance with Sweden, with the United Provinces, and with the Protestant princes of Germany; and the two great treaties by which Mazarin ended the Thirty Years' War, the Treaty of Westphalia and the Treaty of the Pyrenees, left the Empire disorganized and Spain powerless. From that moment indeed Spain sank into a strange decrepitude. Robbed of the chief source of her wealth by the independence of Holland, weakened at home by the revolt of Portugal, her infantry annihilated by Condé in his victory of Rocroi, her fleet ruined by the Dutch, her best blood drained away to the Indies, the energies of her people destroyed by the suppression of all liberty, civil or religious, her intellectual life crushed by the Inquisition, her industry crippled by the expulsion of the Moors, by financial oppression, and by the folly of her colonial system, the kingdom which under Philip the Second had aimed at the empire of the world lay helpless and exhausted under Philip the Fourth. The aim of Lewis from 1661, the year when he really became master of France, was to carry on the policy of his predecessors, and above all to complete the ruin of Spain. The conquest of the Spanish provinces in the Netherlands would carry his border to the Scheldt. A more distant hope lay in the probable extinction of the Austrian line which now sat on the throne of Spain. By securing the succession to that throne for a French prince, not only Castille and Aragon with the Spanish dependencies in Italy and the Netherlands, but the Spanish empire in the New World would be added to the dominions of France. Nothing could save Spain but a union of the European powers, and to prevent this union by his negotiations was a work at which Lewis toiled for years. The intervention of the Empire was guarded against by a renewal of the old alliances between France and the lesser German princes. A league

France and Spain

Sec. VII
William of Orange

with the Turks gave Austria enough to do on her eastern border. The old league with Sweden, the old friendship with Holland were skilfully maintained. The policy of Charles the Second bound England to the side of Lewis. At last it seemed that the moment



JOHN DE WITT.
From a contemporary engraving by Lambert Vischer.

for which he had waited had come, and the signing of the Treaty of Breda gave an opportunity for war of which Lewis availed himself in 1667. But the suddenness and completeness of the French success awoke a general terror before which the skilful diplomacy of Charles gave way. Holland was roused to a sense of danger at

home by the appearance of French arms on the Rhine. England woke from her lethargy on the French seizure of the coast-towns of Flanders. Sweden joined the two Protestant powers in the Triple Alliance; and the dread of a wider league forced Lewis to content himself with the southern half of Flanders, and the possession of a string of fortresses which practically left him master of the Netherlands. 1668

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Lewis was maddened by the check. He had always disliked the Dutch as Protestants and Republicans; he hated them now as an obstacle which must be taken out of the way ere he could resume his projects upon Spain. Four years were spent in preparations for a decisive blow. The French army was gradually raised to a hundred and eighty thousand men. Colbert created a fleet which rivalled that of Holland in number and equipment. Sweden was again won over. England was again secured by the Treaty of Dover. Meanwhile Holland lay wrapped in a false security. The French alliance had been its traditional policy since the days of Henry the Fourth, and it was especially dear to the party of the great merchant class which had mounted to power on the fall of the House of Orange. John de Witt, the leader of this party, though he had been forced to conclude the Triple Alliance by the advance of Lewis to the Rhine, still clung blindly to the friendship of France. His trust only broke down when the French army crossed the Dutch border in 1672, and the glare of its watch-fires was seen from the walls of Amsterdam. For the moment Holland lay crushed at the feet of Lewis, but the arrogance of the conqueror roused again the stubborn courage which had wrung victory from Alva and worn out the pride of Philip the Second. De Witt was murdered in a popular tumult, and his fall called William, the Prince of Orange, to the head of the Republic. Though the new Stadholder had hardly reached manhood, his great qualities at once made themselves felt. His earlier life had schooled him in a wonderful self-control. He had been left fatherless and all but friendless in childhood, he had been bred among men who looked on his very existence as a danger to the State, his words had been watched, his looks noted, his friends jealously withdrawn. In such an atmosphere the boy grew up silent, wary, self-contained, grave in temper, cold in demeanour,

William of Orange

1672

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blunt and even repulsive in address. He was weak and sickly from his cradle, and manhood brought with it an asthma and consumption which shook his frame with a constant cough;

WILLIAM III. WHEN A CHILD.
From an etching by Léon Richeton, in "The Portfolio," of a picture by Rembrandt, at Althorp.

his face was sullen and bloodless and scored with deep lines which told of ceaseless pain. But beneath this cold and sickly presence lay a fiery and commanding temper, an immovable courage, and a political ability of the highest order. William was

a born statesman. Neglected as his education had been in other ways, for he knew nothing of letters or of art, he had been carefully trained in politics by John de Witt: and the wide knowledge with which in his first address to the States-General the young Stadholder reviewed the general state of Europe, the cool courage with which he calculated the chances of the struggle, at once won him the trust of his countrymen. Their trust was soon rewarded. Holland was saved, and province after province won back from the arms of France, by William's dauntless resolve. Like his great ancestor William the Silent, he was a luckless commander, and no general had to bear more frequent defeats. But he profited by defeat as other men profit by victory. His bravery indeed was of that nobler cast which rises to its height in moments of ruin and dismay. The coolness with which, boy-general as he was, he rallied his broken squadrons amidst the rout of Seneff, and wrested from Condé at the last the fruits of his victory, moved his veteran opponent to a generous admiration. It was in such moments indeed that the real temper of the man broke through the veil of his usual reserve. A strange light flashed from his eyes as soon as he was under fire, and in the terror and confusion of defeat his manners took an ease and gaiety that charmed every soldier around him.

DUTCH MUSKET.
Seventeenth Century.
Tower of London.

The political ability of William was seen in the skill with which he drew Spain and the House of Austria into a coalition against France, a union which laid the foundation of the Grand Alliance. But France was still matchless in arms, and the effect of her victories was seconded by the selfishness of the allies, and above all by the treacherous diplomacy of Charles the Second. William was forced to consent in 1678 to the Treaty of Nimeguen, which left France dominant over Europe as she had never been

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William and Charles II.

before. Holland indeed was saved from the revenge of Lewis, but fresh spoils had been wrested from Spain, and Franche-Comté, which had been restored at the close of the former war, was retained at the end of this. Above all France overawed Europe by the daring and success with which she had faced single-handed the wide coalition against her. Her King's arrogance became unbounded. Lorraine was turned into a subject state. Genoa

FRENCH PISTOLIERS AT THE STORMING OF AERDENBURGH, 1672.
From Contemporary Dutch Engraving.

was bombarded, and its Doge forced to seek pardon in the antechambers of Versailles. The Pope was humiliated by the march of an army upon Rome to avenge a slight offered to the French ambassador. The Empire was outraged by a shameless seizure of Imperial fiefs in Elsass and elsewhere. The whole Protestant world was defied by the persecution of the Huguenots which was to culminate in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In the mind of Lewis peace meant a series of outrages on the

powers around him; but every outrage helped the cool and silent adversary who was looking on from the Hague to build up that Great Alliance of all Europe from which alone he looked for any effectual check to the ambition of France. The experience of the last war had taught William that of such an alliance England must form a part, and the efforts of the Prince ever since the peace had been directed to secure her co-operation. A reconciliation of the King with his Parliament was an indispensable step towards freeing Charles from his dependence on France, and it was such a reconciliation that William at first strove to bring about; but he was for a long time foiled by the steadiness with which Charles clung to the power whose aid was needful to carry out the schemes which he was contemplating. The change of policy however which followed on the fall of the Cabal and the entry of Danby into power raised new hopes in William's mind; and his marriage 1677
with Mary dealt Lewis what proved to be a fatal blow. James was without a son, and the marriage with Mary would at any rate ensure William the aid of England in his great enterprise on his father-in-law's death. But it was impossible to wait for that event, and though the Prince used his new position to bring Charles round to a decided policy his efforts remained fruitless. The storm of the Popish Plot complicated his position. In the earlier stages of the Exclusion Bill, when the Parliament seemed resolved simply to pass over James and to seat Mary at once on the throne after her uncle's death, William stood apart from the struggle, doubtful of its issue, though prepared to accept the good luck if it came to him. But the fatal error of Shaftesbury in advancing the claims of Monmouth forced him into action. To preserve his wife's right of succession, with all the great issues which were to come of it, no other course was left than to adopt the cause of the Duke of York. In the crisis of the struggle, therefore, William threw his whole weight on the side of James. The eloquence of Halifax secured the rejection of the Exclusion Bill, and Halifax was but the mouthpiece of William.

William and James II.

But while England was seething with the madness of the Popish Plot and of the royalist reaction, the great European struggle was drawing nearer and nearer. The patience of Germany was worn out by the ceaseless aggressions of Lewis,

THE PALACE AT THE HAGUE
Temp. William III.
Contemporary Dutch engraving

and in 1686 its princes had bound themselves at Augsburg to resist all further encroachments on the part of France. From that moment war became inevitable, and William watched the course of his father-in-law with redoubled anxiety. His efforts to ensure English aid had utterly failed. James had renewed his brother's secret treaty with France, and plunged into a quarrel with his people which of itself would have prevented him from giving any aid in a struggle abroad. The Prince could only silently look on, with a desperate hope that James might yet be brought to a nobler policy. He refused all encouragement to the leading malcontents who were already calling on him to interfere in arms. On the other hand he declined to support the King in his schemes for the abolition of the Test. If he still cherished hopes of bringing about a peace between the King and people which might enable him to enlist England in the Grand Alliance, they vanished in 1687 before the Declaration of Indulgence. It was at this moment that James called on him to declare himself in favour of the abolition of the penal laws and of the Test. But simultaneously with the King's appeal came letters of warning and promises of support from the leading English nobles. Some, like the Hydes, simply assured him of their friendship. The Bishop of London added promises of support. Others, like Devonshire, Nottingham, and Shrewsbury, cautiously or openly warned the Prince against compliance with the King's demand. Lord Churchill announced the resolve of Mary's sister Anne to stand by the cause of Protestantism. Danby, the leading representative of the great Tory party, sent urgent warnings. The letters dictated William's answer. No one, he truly protested, loathed religious persecution more than he himself did, but in relaxing political disabilities James called on him to countenance an attack on his own religion. "I cannot," he ended, "concur in what your Majesty desires of me." But William still shrank from the plan of an intervention in arms. General as the disaffection undoubtedly was, the position of James seemed fairly secure. He counted on the aid of France. He had an army of twenty thousand men. Scotland, disheartened by the failure of Argyll's rising, could give no such aid as it gave to the Long Parliament. Ireland was ready to throw a Catholic army on the western coast. It was

COURTYARD OF THE PALACE AT THE HAGUE.
Temp. William III.
Contemporary Dutch engraving.

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doubtful if in England itself disaffection would turn into actual rebellion. The "Bloody Circuit" had left its terror on the Whigs. The Tories and the Churchmen, angered as they were, were hampered by their doctrine of non-resistance. William's aim therefore was to discourage all violent counsels, and to confine himself to organizing such a general opposition as would force James by legal means to reconcile himself to the country, to abandon his policy at home and abroad, and to join the alliance against France.

The Invitation

But at this moment the whole course of William's policy was changed by an unforeseen event. His own patience and that of the nation rested on the certainty of Mary's succession. But in the midst of the King's struggle with the Church it was announced that the Queen was again with child. The news was received with general unbelief, for five years had passed since the last pregnancy of Mary of Modena. But it at once forced on a crisis. If, as the Catholics joyously foretold, the child turned out a boy, and, as was certain, was brought up a Catholic, the highest Tory had to resolve at last whether the tyranny under which England lay should go on for ever. The hesitation of the country was at an end. Danby, loyal above all to the Church and firm in his hatred of subservience to France, answered for the Tories; Compton for the High Churchmen, goaded at last into rebellion by the Declaration of Indulgence. The Earl of Devonshire, the Lord Cavendish of the Exclusion struggle, answered for the Nonconformists, who were satisfied with William's promise to procure them toleration, as well as for the general body of the Whigs. The announcement of the birth of a Prince of Wales was followed ten days after by a formal invitation to William to intervene in arms for the restoration of English liberty and the protection of the Protestant religion; it was signed by the representatives of the great parties now united against a common danger, and by some others, and was carried to the Hague by Herbert, the most popular of English seamen, who had been deprived of his command for a refusal to vote against the Test. The Invitation called on William to land with an army strong enough to justify those who signed it in rising in arms. It was sent from London on the day after the acquittal of the Bishops. The general excitement, the shouts of the boats

1688

June 20

June 30

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The National Discontent

which covered the river, the bonfires in every street, showed indeed that the country was on the eve of revolt. The army itself, on which James had implicitly relied, suddenly showed its sympathy with the people. James was at Hounslow when the news of the verdict reached him, and as he rode from the camp he heard a great shout behind him. "What is that?" he asked. "It is nothing," was the reply, "only the soldiers are glad that the Bishops are acquitted!" "Do you call that nothing?" grumbled the King. The shout told him that he stood utterly alone in his

THE SEVEN BISHOPS RETURNING FROM THE TOWER.
"*Engelands Godsdienst hersteld*," 1689.

realm. The peerage, the gentry, the Bishops, the clergy, the Universities, every lawyer, every trader, every farmer, stood aloof from him. And now his very soldiers forsook him. The most devoted Catholics pressed him to give way. But to give way was to change the whole nature of his government. All show of legal rule had disappeared. Sheriffs, mayors, magistrates, appointed by the Crown in defiance of a parliamentary statute, were no real officers in the eye of the law. Even if the Houses were summoned, members returned by officers such as these could form no legal Parliament. Hardly a Minister of the Crown or a Privy Councillor

exercised any lawful authority. James had brought things to such a pass that the restoration of legal government meant the absolute reversal of every act he had done. But he was in no mood to reverse his acts. His temper was only spurred to a more dogged obstinacy by danger and remonstrance. He broke up the camp at Hounslow and dispersed its troops in distant cantonments. He dismissed the two judges who had favoured the acquittal of the Bishops. He ordered the chancellor of each diocese to report the names of the clergy who had not read the Declaration of Indulgence. But his will broke fruitlessly against the sullen resistance which met him on every side. Not a chancellor made a return to the Commissioners, and the Commissioners were cowed into inaction by the temper of the nation. When the judges who had displayed their servility to the Crown went on circuit the gentry refused to meet them. A yet fiercer irritation was kindled by the King's resolve to supply the place of the English troops, whose temper proved unserviceable for his purposes, by draughts from the Catholic army which Tyrconnell had raised in Ireland. Even the Roman Catholic peers at the Council table protested against this measure; and six officers in a single regiment laid down their commissions rather than enrol the Irish recruits among their men. The ballad of "Lillibullero," a scurrilous attack on the Irish recruits, was sung from one end of England to the other.

SATIRICAL PLAYING CARD.
Temp. James II.
British Museum.

LANDING OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE, 1688.
"*Engelands Godsdienst hersteld*," 1689

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William's Landing 1688

An outbreak of revolt was in fact inevitable. William was straining all his resources to gather a fleet and sufficient forces, while noble after noble made their way to the Hague. The Earl of Shrewsbury brought £2,000 towards the expenses of the expedition. Edward Russell, the representative of the Whig Earl of Bedford, was followed by the representatives of great Tory houses, by the sons of the Marquis of Winchester, of Lord Danby, of Lord Peterborough, and by the High Church Lord Macclesfield. At home the Earls of Danby and Devonshire prepared silently with Lord Lumley for a rising in the North. In spite of the profound secrecy with which all was conducted, the keen instinct of Sunderland, who had stooped to purchase continuance in office at the price of a secret apostasy to Catholicism, detected the preparations of William; and the sense that his master's ruin was at hand encouraged him to tell every secret of James on the promise of a pardon for the crimes to which he had lent himself. James alone remained stubborn and insensate as of old. He had no fear of a revolt unaided by the Prince of Orange, and he believed that the threat of a French attack on Holland would render William's departure impossible. But in September the long-delayed war began, and by the greatest political error of his reign Lewis threw his forces not on Holland, but on Germany. The Dutch at once felt themselves secure; the States-General gave their sanction to William's project, and the armament he had prepared gathered rapidly in the Scheldt. The news no sooner reached England than the King passed from obstinacy to panic. By draughts from Scotland and Ireland he had mustered forty thousand men, but the temper of the troops robbed him of all trust in them. Help from France was now out of the question. He could only fall back on the older policy of a union with the Tory party and the party of the Church. He personally appealed for support to the Bishops. He dissolved the Ecclesiastical Commission. He replaced the magistrates he had driven from office. He restored their franchises to the towns. The Chancellor carried back the Charter of London in state into the City. The Bishop of Winchester was sent to replace the expelled Fellows of Magdalen. Catholic chapels and Jesuit schools were ordered to be closed. Sunderland pressed for the instant calling of a Parliament, but to

James gives way

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James the counsel seemed treachery, and he dismissed Sunderland from office. In answer to a declaration from the Prince of Orange, which left the question of the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales to Parliament, he produced before the peers who were in London proofs of the birth of his child. But concessions and proofs came too late. Detained by ill winds, beaten back on its first venture by a violent storm, William's fleet of six hundred transports, escorted by fifty men-of-war, anchored on the fifth of November in Torbay; and his army, thirteen thousand men strong, entered Exeter amidst the shouts of its citizens. His coming had not been looked for in the West, and for a week no great landowner joined him. But nobles and squires soon flocked to his camp, and the adhesion of Plymouth secured his rear. Insurrection broke out in Scotland. Danby, dashing at the head of a hundred horsemen into York, gave the signal for a rising. The militia met his appeal with shouts of "A free Parliament and the Protestant religion!" Peers and gentry flocked to his standard; and a march on Nottingham united his forces to those under Devonshire, who had mustered at Derby the great lords of the midland and eastern counties. Everywhere the revolt was triumphant. The garrison of Hull declared for a free Parliament. The Duke of Norfolk appeared at the head of three hundred gentlemen in the market place at Norwich. At Oxford townsmen and gownsmen greeted Lord Lovelace with uproarious welcome. Bristol threw open its gates to the Prince of Orange, who advanced steadily on Salisbury, where James had mustered his forces. But the King's army, broken by dissensions and mutual suspicions among its leaders, fell back in disorder; and the desertion of Lord Churchill was followed by that of so many other officers that James abandoned the struggle in despair. He fled to London to hear that his daughter Anne had left St. James's to join Danby at Nottingham. "God help me," cried the wretched King, "for my own children have forsaken me!" His spirit was utterly broken; and though he promised to call the Houses together, and despatched commissioners to Hungerford to treat with William on the terms of a free Parliament, in his heart he had resolved on flight. Parliament, he said to the few who still clung to him, would force on him concessions he could not endure; and he only waited for news of the escape of his wife and child to make

The National Rising

Flight of James

his way to the Isle of Sheppey, where a hoy lay ready to carry him to France. Some rough fishermen, who took him for a Jesuit, prevented his escape, and a troop of Life Guards brought him back in safety to London: but it was the policy of William and his advisers to further a flight which removed their chief difficulty out of the way. It would have been hard to depose James had he remained, and perilous to keep him prisoner: but the entry of the Dutch troops into London, the silence of the Prince, and an order to leave St. James's, filled the King with fresh terrors, and taking advantage of the means of escape which were almost openly placed at his disposal, James a second time quitted London and embarked on the 23rd of December unhindered for France.

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Before flying James had burnt most of the writs convoking the new Parliament, had disbanded his army, and destroyed so far as he could all means of government. For a few days there was a wild burst of panic and outrage in London, but the orderly instinct of the people soon reasserted itself. The Lords who were at the moment in London provided on their own authority as Privy Councillors for the more pressing needs of administration, and resigned their authority into William's hands on his arrival. The difficulty which arose from the absence of any person legally authorized to call Parliament together was got over by convoking the House of Peers, and forming a second body of all members who had sat in the Commons in the reign of Charles the Second, with the Aldermen and Common Councillors of London. Both bodies requested William to take on himself the provisional government of the kingdom, and to issue circular letters inviting the electors of every town and county to send up representatives to a Convention which met in January, 1689. In the new Convention both Houses were found equally resolved against any recall of or negotiation with the fallen King. They were united in entrusting a provisional authority to the Prince of Orange. But with this step their unanimity ended. The Whigs, who formed a majority in the Commons, voted a resolution which, illogical and inconsistent as it seemed, was well adapted to unite in its favour every element of the opposition to James: the Churchman who was simply scared by his bigotry, the Tory who doubted the right of a nation to depose its King, the Whig who held the theory of a

The Revolution

The Convention 1689

"THE PROTESTANTS' JOY."

Ballad, 1689, in Bagford Collection, British Museum.

contract between King and People. They voted that King James, "having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of this kingdom by breaking the original contract between King and People, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the Government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." But in the Lords, where the Tories were still in the ascendant, the resolution was fiercely debated. Archbishop Sancroft with the high Tories held that no crime could bring about a forfeiture of the crown, and that James still remained King, but that his tyranny had given the nation a right to withdraw from him the actual exercise of government and to entrust his functions to a Regency. The moderate Tories under Danby's guidance admitted that James had ceased to be King, but denied that the throne could be vacant, and contended that from the moment of his abdication the sovereignty vested in his daughter Mary. It was in vain that the eloquence of Halifax backed the Whig peers in struggling for the resolution of the Commons as it stood. The plan of a Regency was lost by a single vote, and Danby's scheme was adopted by a large majority. But both the Tory courses found a sudden obstacle in William. He declined to be Regent. He had no mind, he said to Danby, to be his wife's gentleman-usher. Mary, on the other hand, refused to accept the crown save in conjunction with her husband. The two declarations put an end to the question. It was agreed that William and Mary should be acknowledged as joint sovereigns, but that the actual administration should rest with William alone. A Parliamentary Committee in which the most active member was John Somers, a young lawyer who had distinguished himself in the trial of the Bishops and who was destined to play a great part in later history, drew up a Declaration of Rights which was presented on February 13th to William and Mary by the two Houses in the banqueting-room at Whitehall. It recited the misgovernment of James, his abdication, and the resolve of the Lords and Commons to assert the ancient rights and liberties of English subjects. It condemned as illegal his establishment of an ecclesiastical commission, and his raising an army without Parliamentary sanction. It denied the right of any king to suspend or dispense with laws, or to exact money,

Declaration of Rights

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WILLIAM OF ORANGE

save by consent of Parliament. It asserted for the subject a right to petition, to a free choice of representatives in Parliament, and to a pure and merciful administration of justice It declared the right

GREAT SEAL OF WILLIAM AND MARY.
(Obverse.)

of both Houses to liberty of debate. It demanded securities for the free exercise of their religion by all Protestants, and bound the new sovereign to maintain the Protestant religion and the law and liberties of the realm. In full faith that these principles would be

accepted and maintained by William and Mary, it ended with declaring the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen of England. At the close of the Declaration, Halifax, in the name

GREAT SEAL OF WILLIAM AND MARY.
(Reverse.)

of the Estates of the Realm, prayed them to receive the crown. William accepted the offer in his own name and his wife's, and declared in a few words the resolve of both to maintain the laws and to govern by advice of Parliament.

SEC. VIII
THE GRAND ALLIANCE
1689 TO 1697

Section VIII.—The Grand Alliance, 1689—1697

[*Authorities.*—As before.]

The Grand Alliance

The blunder of Lewis in choosing Germany instead of Holland for his point of attack was all but atoned for by the brilliant successes with which he opened the war. The whole country west of the Rhine was soon in his hands; his armies were masters of the Palatinate, and penetrated even to Würtemberg. His hopes had never been higher than at the moment when the arrival of James at St. Germain dashed all hope to the ground. Lewis was at once thrown back on a war of defence, and the brutal ravages which marked the retreat of his armies from the Rhine revealed the bitterness with which his pride stooped to the necessity. The Palatinate was turned into a desert. The same ruin fell on the stately palace of the Elector at Heidelberg, on the venerable tombs of the Emperors at Speyer, on the town of the trader, on the hut of the vine-dresser. In accepting the English throne William had been moved not so much by personal ambition as by the prospect of firmly knitting together England and Holland, the two great Protestant powers whose fleets held the mastery of the sea, as his diplomacy had knit all Germany together a year before in the Treaty of Augsburg. But the advance from such a union to the formation of the European alliance against France was still delayed by the reluctance of the two branches of the House of Austria in Germany and Spain to league with Protestant States against a Catholic King, while England cared little to join in an attack on France with the view of saving the liberties of Europe. All hesitation, however, passed away when the reception of James as still King of England at St. Germain gave England just ground for a declaration of war, a step in which it was soon followed by Holland, and the two countries at once agreed to stand by one another in their struggle against France. The adhesion of Spain and the Court of Vienna in 1689 to this agreement completed the Grand Alliance which William had designed; and when Savoy joined the Allies France found herself girt in on every side save that of Switzerland with a

ring of foes. The Scandinavian kingdoms alone stood aloof from the confederacy of Europe, and their neutrality was unfriendly to France. Lewis was left without a single ally save the Turk: but

WILLIAM III.
From a picture by Sir Godfrey Kneller at Windsor Castle.

the energy and quickness of movement which sprang from the concentration of the power of France in a single hand still left the contest an equal one. The Empire was slow to move; the Court

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of Vienna was distracted by a war with the Turks; Spain was all but powerless; Holland and England were alone earnest in the struggle, and England could as yet give little aid in the war. One English brigade, indeed, formed from the regiments raised by James, joined the Dutch army on the Sambre, and distinguished itself under Churchill, who had been rewarded for his treason by the title of Earl of Marlborough, in a brisk skirmish with the enemy at Walcourt. But William had as yet grave work to do at home.

William and Scotland

In England not a sword had been drawn for James. In Scotland his tyranny had been yet greater than in England, and so far as the Lowlands went the fall of his tyranny was as rapid and complete. No sooner had he called his troops southward to meet William's invasion than Edinburgh rose in revolt. The western peasants were at once up in arms, and the Episcopalian clergy who had been the instruments of the Stuart misgovernment ever since the Restoration were rabbled and driven from their parsonages in every parish. The news of these disorders forced William to act, though he was without a show of legal authority over Scotland. On the advice of the Scotch Lords present in London, he ventured to summon a Convention similar to that which had been summoned in England, and on his own responsibility to set aside the laws which excluded Presbyterians from the Scotch Parliament. This Convention resolved that James had forfeited the crown by misgovernment, and offered it to William and Mary. The offer was accompanied by a Claim of Right framed on the model of the Declaration of Rights to which they had consented in England, but closing with a demand for the abolition of Prelacy. Both crown and claim were accepted, and the arrival of the Scotch regiments which William had brought from Holland gave strength to the new Government. Its strength was to be roughly tested. John Graham of Claverhouse, whose cruelties in the persecution of the Western Covenanters had been rewarded by a high command in the Scotch army, and the title of Viscount Dundee, withdrew with a few troopers from Edinburgh to the Highlands, and appealed to the clans. In the Highlands nothing was known of English government or misgovernment: all that the Revolution meant to a Highlander was the restoration of the House of

Argyll. To many of the clans it meant the restoration of lands which had been granted them on the Earl's attainder; and the

JOHN GRAHAME OF CLAVERHOUSE, VISCOUNT DUNDEE.
From a picture in the possession of Lady E. Leslie-Melville-Cartwright.

Macdonalds, the Macleans, and the Camerons, were as ready to join Dundee in fighting the Campbells and the Government which

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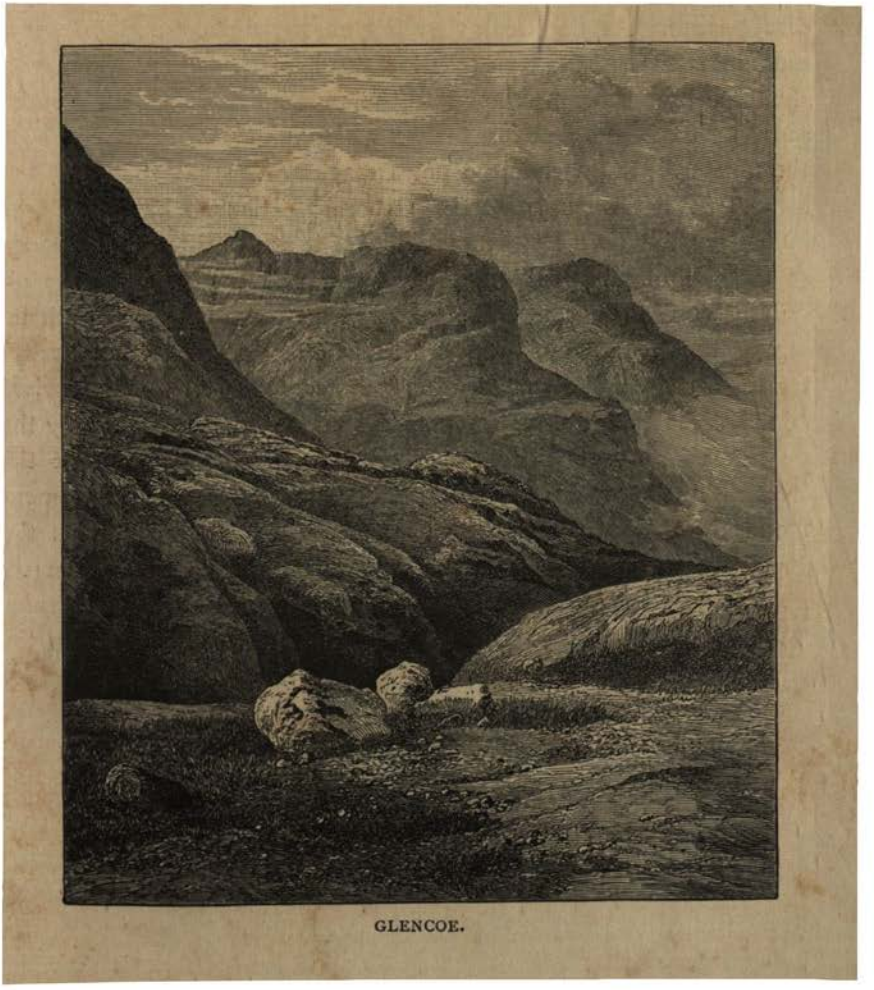
upheld them as they had been ready to join Montrose in the same cause forty years before. They were soon in arms. As William's Scotch regiments under General Mackay climbed the pass of Killiecrankie, Dundee charged them at the head of three thousand clansman and swept them in headlong rout down the glen. But his death in the moment of victory broke the only bond which held the Highlanders together, and in a few weeks the host which had spread terror through the Lowlands melted helplessly away. In the next summer Mackay was able to build the strong post of Fort

Killiecrankie July 1689

KILLIECRANKIE.

William in the very heart of the disaffected country, and his offers of money and pardon brought about the submission of the clans. Sir John Dalrymple, the Master of Stair, in whose hands the government of Scotland at this time mainly rested, had hoped that a refusal of the oath of allegiance would give grounds for a war of extermination, and free Scotland for ever from its terror of the Highlanders. He had provided for the expected refusal by orders of a ruthless severity. "Your troops," he wrote to the officer in command, "will destroy entirely the country of Lochaber, Lochiel's

lands, Keppoch's, Glengarry's and Glencoe's. Your powers shall be large enough. I hope the soldiers will not trouble the Government with prisoners." But his hopes were disappointed by the readiness with which the clans accepted the offers of the



GLENCOE.

Government. All submitted in good time save Macdonald of Glencoe, whose pride delayed his taking of the oath till six days after the latest date fixed by the proclamation. Foiled in his larger hopes of destruction, Dalrymple seized eagerly on the pretext given by Macdonald, and an order "for the extirpation of

Massacre of Glencoe

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that sect of robbers" was laid before William and received the royal signature. "The work," wrote the Master of Stair to Colonel Hamilton who undertook it, "must be secret and sudden." The troops were chosen from among the Campbells, the deadly foes of the clansmen of Glencoe, and quartered peacefully among the Macdonalds for twelve days, till all suspicion of their errand disappeared. At daybreak they fell on their hosts, and in a few moments thirty of the clansfolk lay dead on the snow. The rest, sheltered by a storm, escaped to the mountains to perish for the most part of cold and hunger. "The only thing I regret," said the Master of Stair when the news reached him, "is that any got away." Whatever horror the Massacre of Glencoe has roused in later days, few save Dalrymple knew of it at the time. The peace of the Highlands enabled the work of reorganization to go on quietly at Edinburgh. In accepting the Claim of Right with its repudiation of Prelacy, William had in effect restored the Presbyterian Church, and its restoration was accompanied by the revival of the Westminster Confession as a standard of faith, and by the passing of an Act which abolished lay patronage. Against the Toleration Act which the King proposed, the Scotch Parliament stood firm. But the King was as firm in his purpose as the Parliament. So long as he reigned, William declared in memorable words, there should be no persecution for conscience' sake. "We never could be of that mind that violence was suited to the advancing of true religion, nor do we intend that our authority shall ever be a tool to the irregular passions of any party."

Feb. 13, 1692

The Irish Revolt

It was not in Scotland, however, but in Ireland that James and Lewis hoped to arrest William's progress. In the middle of his reign, when his chief aim was to provide against the renewed depression of his fellow religionists at his death by any Protestant successor, James had resolved (if we may trust the statement of the French ambassador) to place Ireland in such a position of independence that she might serve as a refuge for his Catholic subjects. Lord Clarendon was dismissed from the Lord Lieutenancy and succeeded in the charge of the island by the Catholic Earl of Tyrconnell. The new governor, who was raised to a dukedom, went roughly to work. Every Englishman was turned out of office. Every Judge, every Privy Councillor, every

Mayor and Alderman of a borough was required to be a Catholic and an Irishman. The Irish army, raised to the number of fifty thousand men and purged of its Protestant soldiers, was entrusted to Catholic officers. In a few months the English ascendency was overthrown, and the life and fortune of the English settlers were at the mercy of the natives on whom they had trampled since Cromwell's day. The King's flight and the agitation among the native Irish at the news spread panic therefore through the island.

JAMES II. LANDING AT KINSALE.
"Engelants Schouwtoneel verbeeldende het vlugte van Jacobus II.," Amsterdam, 1690.

Another massacre was believed to be at hand ; and fifteen hundred Protestant families, chiefly from the south, fled in terror over sea. The Protestants of the north on the other hand drew together at Enniskillen and Londonderry, and prepared for self-defence. The outbreak however was still delayed, and for two months Tyrconnell intrigued with William's Government. But his aim was simply to gain time. He was in fact inviting James to return to Ireland, and at the news of his coming with officers, ammunition, and a supply of money provided by the French King, Tyrconnell threw off the

1689

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mask. A flag was hoisted over Dublin Castle, with the words embroidered on its folds "Now or Never." The signal called every Catholic to arms. The maddened natives flung themselves on the plunder which their masters had left, and in a few weeks havoc was done, the French envoy told Lewis, which it would take years to repair. Meanwhile James sailed from France to Kinsale. His aim was to carry out an invasion of England with the fifty thousand men that Tyrconnell was said to have at his disposal. But his hopes were ruined by the war of races which had broken

THE WALLS OF LONDONDERRY.
Built 1609.
After W. H. Bartlett.

out. To Tyrconnell and the Irish leaders the King's plans were utterly distasteful. Their policy was that of Ireland for the Irish, and the first step was to drive out the Englishmen who still stood at bay in Ulster. Half of Tyrconnell's army therefore had been sent against Londonderry, where the bulk of the fugitives found shelter behind a weak wall, manned by a few old guns, and destitute even of a ditch. But the seven thousand desperate Englishmen behind the wall made up for its weakness. So fierce were their sallies, so crushing the repulse of his attack, that the King's general, Hamilton, at last turned the siege into a blockade.

Siege of Londonderry

The Protestants died of hunger in the streets, and of the fever which comes of hunger, but the cry of the town was still "No Surrender." The siege had lasted a hundred and five days, and only two days' food remained in Londonderry, when on the 28th of July an English ship broke the boom across the river, and the besiegers sullenly withdrew. Their defeat was turned into a rout by the men of Enniskillen, who struggled through a bog to charge an Irish force of double their number at Newtown Butler and drove horse and foot

SIEGE OF LONDONDERRY.
"*Engelants Schouwtoneel*," &c., 1690.

before them in a panic which soon spread through Hamilton's whole army. The routed soldiers fell back on Dublin, where James lay helpless in the hands of the frenzied Parliament which he had summoned. Every member returned was an Irishman and a Catholic, and their one aim was to undo the successive confiscations which had given the soil to English settlers and to get back Ireland for the Irish. The Act of Settlement on which all title to property rested was at once repealed in spite of the King's reluctance. Three thousand Protestants of name and

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fortune were massed together in the hugest Bill of Attainder which the world has seen. In spite of James's promise of religious

TABERNACLE AND CANDLESTICKS GIVEN BY JAMES II. TO CHRISTCHURCH CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN.
From a drawing by Mr. Thomas Drew, R.H.A.

freedom, the Protestant clergy were driven from their parsonages, Fellows and scholars were turned out of Trinity College, and

the French envoy, the Count of Avaux, dared even to propose that if any Protestant rising took place on the English descent, as was expected, it should be met by a general massacre of the Protestants who still lingered in the districts which had submitted to James. To his credit the King shrank horror-struck from the proposal. "I cannot be so cruel," he said, "as to cut their throats

EXCHANGE, LONDONDERRY, AS REBUILT AFTER THE SIEGE.

while they live peaceably under my government." "Mercy to Protestants," was the cold reply, "is cruelty to Catholics."

Through the long agony of Londonderry, through the proscription and bloodshed of the new Irish rule, William was forced to look helplessly on. The best troops in the army which had been mustered at Hounslow had been sent with Marlborough to the Sambre; and the political embarrassments which grew up around

England and the Revolution

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the Government made it impossible to spare a man of those who remained. The great ends of the Revolution were indeed secured, even amidst the confusion and intrigue which we shall have to describe, by the common consent of all. On the great questions of civil liberty Whig and Tory were now at one. The Declaration of Rights was turned into the Bill of Rights by the Convention which had now become a Parliament, and the passing of this measure in 1689 restored to the monarchy the character which it had lost under the Tudors and the Stuarts. The right of the people through its representatives to depose the King, to change the order of succession, and to set on the throne whom they would, was now established. All claim of Divine Right, or hereditary right independent of the law, was formally put an end to by the election of William and Mary. Since their day no English sovereign has been able to advance any claim to the crown, save a claim which rested on a particular clause in a particular Act of Parliament. William, Mary, and Anne were sovereigns simply by virtue of the Bill of Rights. George the First and his successors have been sovereigns solely by virtue of the Act of Settlement. An English monarch is now as much the creature of an Act of Parliament as the pettiest tax-gatherer in his realm. Nor was the older character of the kingship alone restored. The older constitution returned with it. Bitter experience had taught

Bill of Rights

MACE MADE FOR THE GILDS OF CORK, 1696.
South Kensington Museum.

England the need of restoring to the Parliament its absolute power over taxation. The grant of revenue for life to the last two kings had been the secret of their anti-national policy, and the first act of the new legislature was to restrict the grant of the royal revenue to a term of four years. William was bitterly galled by the provision. "The gentlemen of England trusted King James," he said, "who was an enemy of their religion and their laws, and they will not trust me, by whom their religion and their laws have been preserved." But the only change brought about in the Parliament by this burst of royal anger was a resolve henceforth to make the vote of supplies an annual one, a resolve which, in spite of the slight changes introduced by the next Tory Parliament, soon became an invariable rule. A change of almost as great importance established the control of Parliament over the army. The hatred to a standing army which had begun under Cromwell had only deepened under James; but with the continental war the existence of an army was a necessity. As yet, however, it was a force which had no legal existence. The soldier was simply an ordinary subject; there were no legal means of punishing strictly military offences or of providing for military discipline: and the assumed power of billeting soldiers in private houses had been taken away by the law. The difficulty both of Parliament and the army was met by the Mutiny Act. The powers requisite for discipline in the army were conferred by Parliament on its officers, and provision was made for the pay of the force, but both pay and disciplinary powers were granted only for a single year. The Mutiny Act, like the grant of supplies, has remained annual ever since the Revolution; and as it is impossible for the State to exist without supplies, or for the army to exist without discipline and pay, the annual assembly of Parliament has become a matter of absolute necessity. The greatest constitutional change which our history has witnessed was thus brought about in an indirect but perfectly efficient way. The dangers which experience had lately shown lay in the Parliament itself were met with far less skill. Under Charles, England had seen a Parliament, which had been returned in a moment of reaction, maintained without fresh election for eighteen years. A Triennial Bill, which limited the duration of a Parliament to three, was

Taxation

The Army

The Parliament

WILLIAM III. IN PARLIAMENT.

From an engraving by Romeyn de Hooge.

passed with little opposition, but fell before the dislike and veto of William. To counteract the influence which a king might obtain by crowding the Commons with officials proved a yet harder task. A Place Bill, which excluded all persons in the employment of the State from a seat in Parliament, was defeated, and wisely defeated, in the Lords. The modern course of providing against a pressure from the Court or the administration by excluding all minor officials, but of preserving the hold of Parliament over the great officers of State by admitting them into its body, seems as yet to have occurred to nobody. It is equally strange that while vindicating its right of Parliamentary control over the public revenue and the army, the Bill of Rights should have left by its silence the control of trade to the Crown. It was only a few years later, in the discussions on the charter granted to the East India Company, that the Houses silently claimed and obtained the right of regulating English commerce.

Toleration and the Church

The religious results of the Revolution were hardly less weighty than the political. In the common struggle against Catholicism Churchman and Nonconformist had found themselves, as we have seen, strangely at one; and schemes of Comprehension became suddenly popular. But with the fall of James the union of the two bodies abruptly ceased: and the establishment of a Presbyterian Church in Scotland, together with the "rabbling" of the Episcopalian clergy in its western shires, revived the old bitterness of the clergy towards the dissidents. The Convocation rejected the scheme of the Latitudinarians for such modifications of the Prayer-book as would render possible a return of the Nonconformists, and a Comprehension Bill which was introduced into Parliament failed to pass in spite of the King's strenuous support. William's attempt to partially admit Dissenters to civil equality by a repeal of the Corporation Act proved equally fruitless; but the passing of a Toleration Act in 1689 practically established freedom of worship. Whatever the religious effect of the failure of the Latitudinarian schemes may have been, its political effect has been of the highest value. At no time had the Church been so strong or so popular as at the Revolution, and the reconciliation of the Nonconformists would have doubled its strength. It is doubtful whether the disinclination to all political

Toleration Act

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change which has characterized it during the last two hundred years would have been affected by such a change; but it is certain that the power of opposition which it has wielded would have been enormously increased. As it was, the Toleration Act established a group of religious bodies whose religious opposition to the Church forced them to support the measures of progress which

NONCONFORMIST CHAPEL, DEAN ROW, CHESHIRE.
Built 1693.
Earwaker, "East Cheshire."

the Church opposed. With religious forces on the one side and on the other England has escaped the great stumbling-block in the way of nations where the cause of religion has become identified with that of political reaction. A secession from within its own ranks weakened the Church still more. The doctrine of Divine Right had a strong hold on the body of the clergy, though they had been driven from their other favourite doctrine of passive

The Non-jurors

obedience, and the requirement of the oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns from all persons in public functions was resented as an intolerable wrong by almost every parson. Sancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with a few prelates and a large number of the higher clergy, absolutely refused the oath, treated all who took it as schismatics, and on their deprivation by Act of Parliament regarded themselves and their adherents, who were known as Nonjurors, as the only members of the true Church of England. The bulk of the clergy bowed to necessity, but their bitterness against the new Government was fanned into a flame by the religious policy announced in this assertion of the supremacy of Parliament over the Church, and the deposition of bishops by an act of the legislature. The new prelates, such as Tillotson, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, were men of learning and piety; but it was only among Whigs and Latitudinarians that William and his successors could find friends among the clergy, and it was mainly to these that they were driven to entrust the higher offices of the Church. The result was a severance between the higher dignitaries and the mass of the clergy which broke the strength of the Church; and till the time of George the Third its fiercest strife was waged within its own ranks. But the resentment at the measure which brought this strife about already added to the difficulties which William had to encounter.

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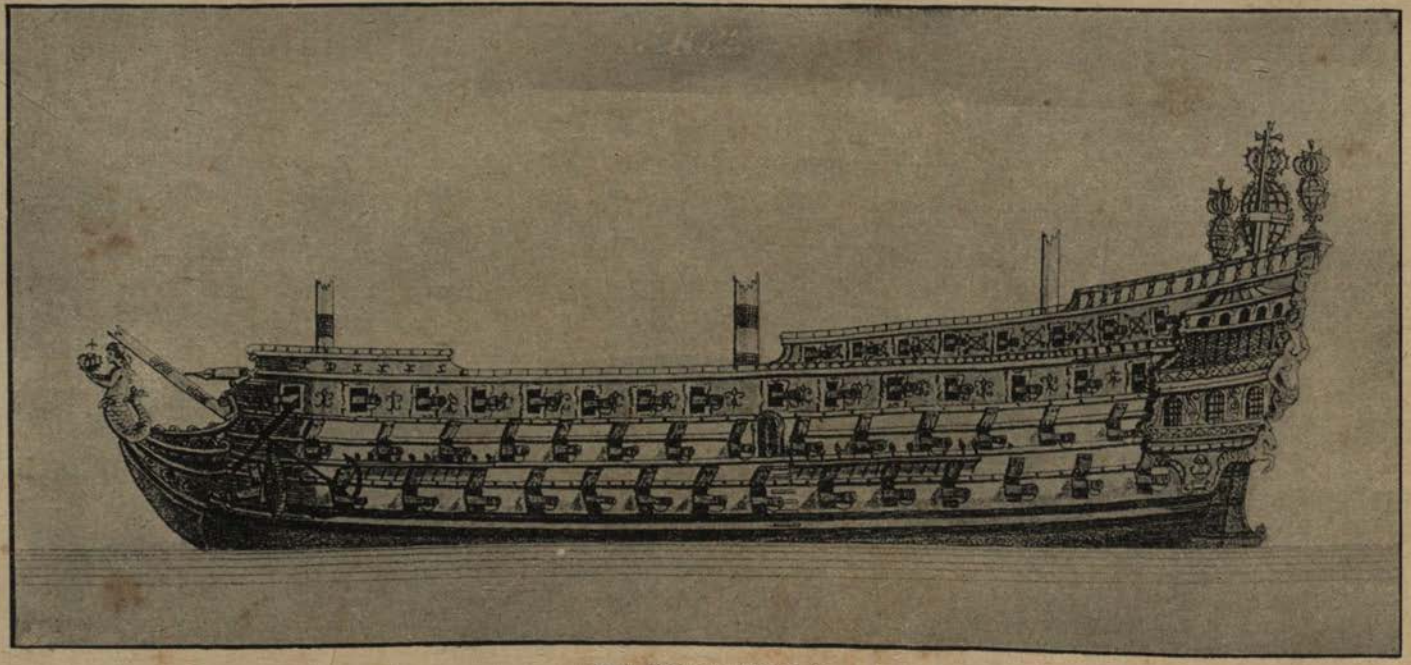
Yet greater difficulties arose from the temper of his Parliament. In the Commons the bulk of the members were Whigs, and their first aim was to redress the wrongs which the Whig party had suffered during the last two reigns. The attainder of Lord Russell was reversed. The judgements against Sidney, Cornish, and Alice Lisle were annulled. In spite of the opinion of the judges that the sentence on Titus Oates had been against law, the Lords refused to reverse it, but even Oates received a pardon and a pension. The Whigs however wanted not merely the redress of wrongs but the punishment of the wrong-doers. Whig and Tory had been united, indeed, by the tyranny of James; both parties had shared in the Revolution, and William had striven to prolong their union by joining the leaders of both in his first Ministry. He named the Tory Earl of Danby Lord President, made the Whig Earl of

The Act of Grace

Political difficulties



THE "SOLEIL ROYAL."
Finest ship of the navy of Louis XIV.; built 1690.
Charnock, "History of Marine Architecture."

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Shrewsbury Secretary of State, and gave the Privy Seal to Lord Halifax, a trimmer between the one party and the other. But save in a moment of common oppression or common danger union was impossible. The Whigs clamoured for the punishment of Tories who had joined in the illegal acts of Charles and of James, and refused to pass the Bill of General Indemnity which William laid before them. William on the other hand was resolved that no bloodshed or proscription should follow the revolution which had placed him on the throne. His temper was averse from persecution; he had no great love for either of the battling parties; and above all he saw that internal strife would be fatal to the effective prosecution of the war. While the cares of his new throne were chaining him to England, the confederacy of which he was the guiding spirit was proving too slow and too loosely compacted to cope with the swift and resolute movements of France. The armies of Lewis had fallen back within their own borders, but only to turn fiercely at bay. Even the junction of the English and Dutch fleets failed to assure them the mastery of the seas. The English navy was paralyzed by the corruption which prevailed in the public service, as well as by the sloth and incapacity of its commander. The services of Admiral Herbert at the Revolution had been rewarded by the Earldom of Torrington and the command of the fleet; but his indolence suffered the seas to be swept by French privateers, and his want of seamanship was shown in an indecisive engagement with a French squadron in Bantry Bay. Meanwhile Lewis was straining every nerve to win the command of the Channel; the French dockyards were turning out ship after ship, and the galleys of the Mediterranean fleet were brought round to reinforce the fleet at Brest. A French victory off the English coast would have brought serious political danger, for the reaction of popular feeling which had begun in favour of James had been increased by the pressure of the war, by the taxation, by the expulsion of the Nonjurors and the discontent of the clergy, by the panic of the Tories at the spirit of vengeance which broke out among the triumphant Whigs, and above all by the presence of James in Ireland. A new party, that of the Jacobites or adherents of King James, was just forming; and it was feared that a Jacobite rising would follow the appearance of a French fleet

The Jacobites

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1690

on the coast. In such a state of affairs William judged rightly that to yield to the Whig thirst for vengeance would have been to ruin his cause. He dissolved the Parliament, which had refused to pass a Bill of Indemnity for all political offences, and called a new one to meet in March. The result of the election proved that he had only expressed the general temper of the nation. The boroughs had been alienated from the Whigs by their refusal to pass the Indemnity, and their attempts to secure the Corporations for their own party; while in the counties parson after parson led his flock to the poll against the Whigs. In the new Parliament the bulk of the members proved Tories. William accepted the resignation of the more violent Whigs among his councillors, and

MEDAL COMMEMORATING RESTORATION OF TOWN CHARTERS, 1690.

placed Danby at the head of affairs. In May the Houses gave their assent to the Act of Grace. The King's aim in this sudden change of front was not only to meet the change in the national spirit, but to secure a momentary lull in English faction which would suffer him to strike at the rebellion in Ireland. While James was King in Dublin it was hopeless to crush treason at home; and so urgent was the danger, so precious every moment in the present juncture of affairs, that William could trust no one to bring the work as sharply to an end as was needful save himself.

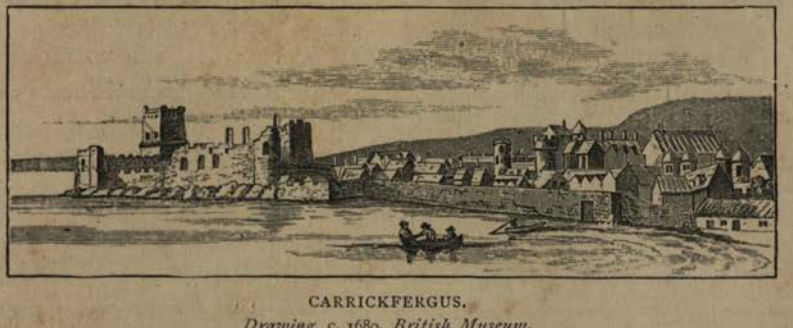
Battle of the Boyne

In the autumn of the year 1689 the Duke of Schomberg, an exiled Huguenot who had followed William to England, had been sent with a small force to Ulster, but his landing had only roused

Ireland to a fresh enthusiasm. The ranks of the Irish army were filled up at once, and James was able to face the Duke at Drogheda with a force double that of his opponent. Schomberg, whose men were all raw recruits whom it was hardly possible to trust at such

LIMERICK FROM THE SEA.
Drawing, c. 1685, in British Museum.

odds in the field, entrenched himself at Dundalk, in a camp where pestilence soon swept off half his men, till winter parted the two armies. During the next six months James, whose treasury was utterly exhausted, strove to fill it by a coinage of brass money, while his soldiers subsisted by sheer plunder. William meanwhile was toiling hard on the other side of the Channel to bring the Irish



CARRICKFERGUS.
Drawing, c. 1680, British Museum.

war to an end. Schomberg was strengthened during the winter with men and stores, and when the spring came his force reached thirty thousand men. Lewis too felt the importance of the coming struggle; and seven thousand picked Frenchmen, under the Count

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of Lauzun, were despatched to reinforce the army of James. They had hardly arrived when William himself landed at Carrickfergus, and pushed rapidly to the south. His columns soon caught sight of the Irish forces, posted strongly behind the Boyne. "I am glad to see you, gentlemen," William cried with a burst of delight; "and if you escape me now the fault will be mine." Early next morning the whole English army plunged into the river. The Irish foot broke in a sudden panic, but the horse made so gallant a stand that Schomberg fell in repulsing its charge, and for a time the English centre was held in check. With the arrival of William, however, at the head of the left wing all was over. James, who had throughout been striving to secure the withdrawal of his troops rather than frankly to meet William's onset, forsook his troops as they fell back in retreat upon Dublin, and took ship at Kinsale for France.

July 1, 1690

ARMOUR WORN BY JAMES II. AT THE BOYNE.
Tower of London.

The Irish War

But though the beaten army was forced by William's pursuit to abandon the capital, it was still resolute to fight. The incapacity

of the Stuart sovereign moved the scorn even of his followers. "Change kings with us," an Irish officer replied to an Englishman who taunted him with the panic of the Boyne, "change kings with us and we will fight you again." They did better in fighting without a king. The French, indeed, withdrew scornfully from the routed army as it stood at bay beneath the walls of Limerick. "Do you call these ramparts?" sneered Lauzun: "the English will need no cannon; they may batter them down with roasted apples." But twenty thousand men remained with Sarsfield, a brave and skilful officer who had seen service in England and abroad; and

KING JOHN'S CASTLE, LIMERICK.
After W. H. Bartlett.

his daring surprise of the English ammunition train, his repulse of a desperate attempt to storm the town, and the approach of the winter, forced William to raise the siege. The course of the war abroad recalled him to England, and he left his work to one who was quietly proving himself a master in the art of war. Churchill, now Earl of Marlborough, had been recalled from Flanders to command a division which landed in the south of Ireland. Only a few days remained before the operations were interrupted by the coming of winter, but the few days were turned to good account. Cork, with five thousand men behind its walls, was taken

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Ireland conquered

in forty-eight hours. Kinsale a few days later shared the fate of Cork. Winter indeed left Connaught and the greater part of Munster in Irish hands; the French force remained untouched, and the coming of a new French general, St. Ruth, with arms and supplies encouraged the insurgents. But the summer of 1691 had hardly opened when Ginkell, the new English general, by his seizure of Athlone forced on a battle with the combined French and Irish forces at Aughrim, in which St. Ruth fell on the field and his army was utterly broken. The defeat left Limerick alone in its revolt, and even Sarsfield bowed to the necessity of a surrender. Two treaties were drawn up between the Irish and English generals. By the first it was stipulated that the Catholics of Ireland should enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as were consistent with law, or as they had enjoyed in the reign of Charles the Second. The Crown pledged itself also to summon a Parliament as soon as possible, and to endeavour to procure to the good Roman Catholics security "from any disturbance upon the account of the said religion."[1] By the military treaty those of Sarsfield's soldiers who would were suffered to follow him to France; and ten thousand men, the whole of his force, chose exile rather than life in a land where all hope of national freedom was lost. When the wild cry of the women who stood watching their departure was hushed, the silence of death settled down upon Ireland. For a hundred years the country remained at peace, but the peace was a peace of despair. The most terrible legal tyranny under which a nation has ever groaned avenged the rising under Tyrconnell. The conquered people, in Swift's bitter words of contempt, became "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to their conquerors. Though local risings of these serfs perpetually spread terror among the English settlers, all dream of a national revolt passed away; and till the eve of the French Revolution Ireland ceased to be a source of political danger to England.

Oct. 1691

The Jacobite Plots

Short as the struggle of Ireland had been, it had served Lewis well, for while William was busy at the Boyne a series of brilliant successes was restoring the fortunes of France. In Flanders the Duke of Luxembourg won the victory of Fleurus. In Italy Marshal Catinat defeated the Duke of Savoy. A success of even greater moment, the last victory which France was fated to win at

sea, placed for an instant the very throne of William in peril. William never showed a cooler courage than in quitting England to fight James in Ireland at a moment when the Jacobites were only looking for the appearance of a French fleet on the coast to rise in revolt. He was hardly on his way in fact when Tourville, the French admiral, put to sea with strict orders to fight. He was met by the English and Dutch fleet at Beachy Head, and the Dutch division at once engaged. Though utterly outnumbered, it fought stubbornly in hope of Herbert's aid; but Herbert, whether from

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June 30, 1690

MEDAL OF LOUIS XIV. COMMEMORATING VICTORY AT BEACHY HEAD.
(Reverse.)

cowardice or treason, looked idly on while his allies were crushed and withdrew at nightfall to seek shelter in the Thames. The danger was as great as the shame, for Tourville's victory left him master of the Channel, and his presence off the coast of Devon invited the Jacobites to revolt. But whatever the discontent of Tories and Nonjurors against William might be, all signs of it vanished with the landing of the French. The burning of Teignmouth by Tourville's sailors called the whole coast to arms; and the news of the Boyne put an end to all dreams of a rising in

French descent on England

MONS.

Dutch engraving, Seventeenth Century.

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favour of James. The natural reaction against a cause which looked for foreign aid gave a new strength for the moment to William in England; but ill luck still hung around the Grand Alliance. So urgent was the need for his presence abroad that William left, as we have seen, his work in Ireland undone, and crossed in the spring of 1691 to Flanders. It was the first time since the days of Henry the Eighth that an English king had appeared on the Continent at the head of an English army. But the slowness of the allies again baffled William's hopes. He was forced to look on with a small army while a hundred thousand Frenchmen closed suddenly around Mons, the strongest fortress of the Netherlands, and made themselves masters of it in the presence of Lewis. The humiliation was great, and for the moment all trust in William's fortune faded away. In England the blow was felt more heavily than elsewhere. The Jacobite hopes which had been crushed by the indignation at Tourville's descent woke up to a fresh life. Leading Tories, such as Lord Clarendon and Lord Dartmouth, opened communications with James; and some of the leading Whigs, with the Earl of Shrewsbury at their head, angered at what they regarded as William's ingratitude, followed them in their course. In Lord Marlborough's mind the state of affairs raised hopes of a double treason. His design was to bring about a revolt which would drive William from the throne without replacing James, and give the crown to his daughter Anne, whose affection for Marlborough's wife would place the real government of England in his hands. A yet greater danger lay in the treason of Admiral Russell, who had succeeded Torrington in command of the fleet. Russell's defection would have removed the one obstacle to a new attempt which James was resolved to make for the recovery of his throne, and which Lewis had been brought to support. In the beginning of 1692 an army of thirty thousand troops was quartered in Normandy in readiness for a descent on the English coast. Transports were provided for their passage, and Tourville was ordered to cover it with the French fleet at Brest. Though Russell had twice as many ships as his opponent, the belief in his purpose of betraying William's cause was so strong that Lewis ordered Tourville to engage the allied fleets at any disadvantage.

Intrigues in England

BATTLE OF LA HOGUE.

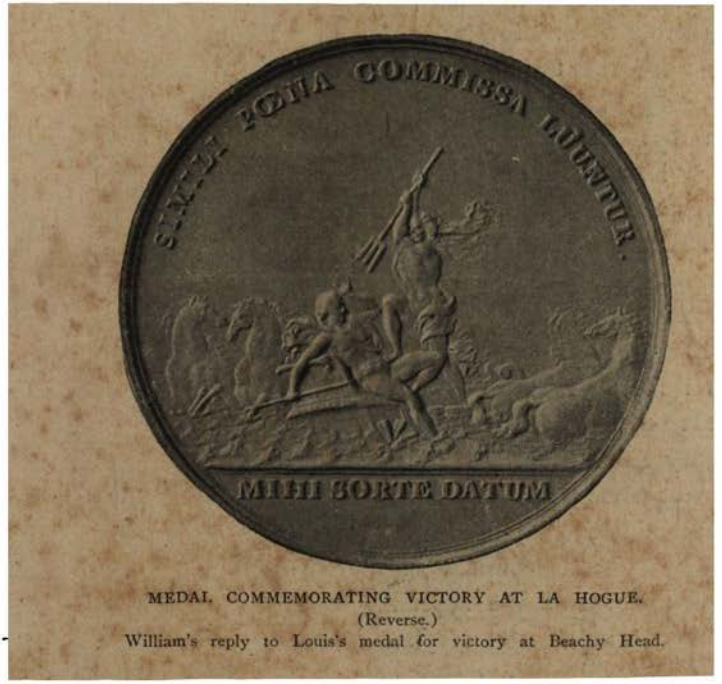
From a contemporary engraving by Romeyn de Hooge.

Represents the final destruction of the French fleet at the close of the six days' fight.

A. Admiral Russell's squadron.
B. Light frigates to protect the fire-ships and schooners.
C. "Le Conquérant." } French ships.
D. "Le Magnifique." } French ships.
E. "Le Triomphant" and "Le Trident." } French ships.
F. Schooners and skiffs, whence many English nobles themselves stop the fire in the French ships.
G. "L'Ambitieux"
H. "Le Tonnant."
I. "Le Terrible."
K. "Le St. Philippe."
L. "L'Amiable."
M. Small French frigates and transports, between the Continent and the islands of Marcou.
N. Remaining merchantmen, with stores and ammunition, also mostly burnt in the Bay.
O. Encampments of the late King James, the Marquis de Bellefonds, &c., abandoned owing to the fire of our schooners and frigates.
P. Ste. Pernelle, second encampment where the powder-magazine exploded.
Q. St. Vas, with the platforms on both sides of the Bay, overshot with the Cape of Barfleur.
R. The "Soleil Royal," Tourville's flagship.
S. "L'Admirable."
T. "Le Fort," with some smaller ones burnt by the schooners on Cape de Wyk.
V. Chevalier Delaval and his squadron (which burned the French flagship, &c.)
W. Cherbourg.
X. Admiral Allemonde destroying most of the remaining fugitives.
Y. Rear-Admiral Schey, with some French ships at Cape de La Hogue.
Z. Fosse d'Aumonville.

But whatever Russell's intrigues may have meant, he was no Herbert. "Do not think I will let the French triumph over us in our own seas," he warned his Jacobite correspondents. "If I meet them, I will fight them, even though King James were on board." When the allied fleets met the French off the heights of Barfleur his fierce attack proved Russell true to his word. Tourville's fifty vessels were no match for the ninety ships of the allies, and after five hours of a brave struggle the French were forced to fly along the rocky coast of the Cotentin. Twenty-two of their vessels

Battle of La Hogue



MEDAL COMMEMORATING VICTORY AT LA HOGUE.
(Reverse.)
William's reply to Louis's medal for victory at Beachy Head.

reached St. Malo; thirteen anchored with Tourville in the bays of Cherbourg and La Hogue; but their pursuers were soon upon them, and in a bold attack the English boats burnt ship after ship under the eyes of the French army. All dread of the invasion was at once at an end; and the throne of William was secured by the detection and suppression of the Jacobite conspiracy at home which the invasion was intended to support. But the overthrow of the Jacobite hopes was the least result of the victory of La Hogue. France ceased from that moment to exist as a great naval power;

The turn of the war

Sec. VIII

The Grand Alliance 1689 to 1697

for though her fleet was soon recruited to its former strength, the confidence of her sailors was lost, and not even Tourville ventured again to tempt in battle the fortune of the seas. A new hope, too, dawned on the Grand Alliance. The spell of French triumph was broken. Namur indeed surrendered to Lewis, and the Duke of Luxembourg maintained the glory of the French army by a victory over William at Steinkirk. But the battle was a useless butchery in which the conquerors lost as many men as the conquered. France felt herself disheartened and exhausted by the vastness of her efforts. The public misery was extreme. "The country," Fénelon wrote frankly to Lewis, "is a vast hospital." In 1693 the campaign of Lewis in the Netherlands proved a fruitless one, and Luxembourg was hardly able to beat off the fierce attack of William at Neerwinden. For the first time in his long career of prosperity Lewis bent his pride to seek peace at the sacrifice of his conquests, and though the effort was vain it told that the daring hopes of French ambition were at an end, and that the work of the Grand Alliance was practically done.

1692

The First English Ministry

In outer seeming, the Revolution of 1688 had only transferred the sovereignty over England from James to William and Mary. In actual fact it had given a powerful and decisive impulse to the great constitutional progress which was transferring the sovereignty from the King to the House of Commons. From the moment when its sole right to tax the nation was established by the Bill of Rights, and when its own resolve settled the practice of granting none but annual supplies to the Crown, the House of Commons became the supreme power in the State. It was impossible permanently to suspend its sittings, or in the long run to oppose its will, when either course must end in leaving the Government penniless, in breaking up the army and navy, and in suspending the public service. But though the constitutional change was complete, the machinery of government was far from having adapted itself to the new conditions of political life which such a change brought about. However powerful the will of the House of Commons might be, it had no means of bringing its will directly to bear upon the conduct of public affairs. The Ministers who had charge of them were not its servants, but the servants of the Crown; it was from the King that they looked for direction,

The sovereignty of the Commons

and to the King that they held themselves responsible. By impeachment or more indirect means the Commons could force a King to remove a Minister who contradicted their will; but they had no constitutional power to replace the fallen statesman by a Minister who would carry out their will. The result was the growth of a temper in the Lower House which drove William and his Ministers to despair. It became as corrupt, as jealous of power, as fickle in its resolves and factious in spirit, as bodies always become whose consciousness of the possession of power is untempered by a corresponding consciousness of the practical difficulties or the moral responsibilities of the power which they possess. It grumbled at the ill-success of the war, at the suffering of the merchants, at the discontent of the Churchmen: and it blamed the Crown and its Ministers for all at which it grumbled. But it was hard to find out what policy or measures it would have preferred. Its mood changed, as William bitterly complained, with every hour. It was, in fact, without the guidance of recognised leaders, without adequate information, and destitute of that organization out of which alone a definite policy can come. Nothing better proves the inborn political capacity of the English mind than that it should at once have found a simple and effective solution of such a difficulty as this. The credit of the solution belongs to a man whose political character was of the lowest type. Robert, Earl of Sunderland, had been a Minister in the later days of Charles the Second; and he had remained Minister through almost all the reign of James. He had held office at last only by compliance with the worst tyranny of his master, and by a feigned conversion to the Roman Catholic faith; but the ruin of James was no sooner certain than he had secured pardon and protection from William by the betrayal of the master to whom he had sacrificed his conscience and his honour. Since the Revolution Sunderland had striven only to escape public observation in a country retirement, but at this crisis he came secretly forward to bring his unequalled sagacity to the aid of the King. His counsel was to recognize practically the new power of the Commons by choosing the Ministers of the Crown exclusively from among the members of the party which was strongest in the Lower House. As yet no Ministry in the modern sense of the term had existed.

Lord Sunderland

The new ministerial system

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Each great officer of state, Treasurer or Secretary or Lord Privy Seal, had in theory been independent of his fellow-officers; each was the "King's servant" and responsible for the discharge of his

ROBERT SPENCER, SECOND EARL OF SUNDERLAND.
Picture by Carlo Maratta, at Althorpe.

special duties to the King alone. From time to time one Minister, like Clarendon, might tower above the rest and give a general direction to the whole course of government, but the

predominance was merely personal and never permanent; and even in such a case there were colleagues who were ready to oppose or even impeach the statesman who overshadowed them. It was common for a King to choose or dismiss a single Minister without any communication with the rest; and so far was even William from aiming at ministerial unity, that he had striven to reproduce in the Cabinet itself the balance of parties which prevailed outside it. Sunderland's plan aimed at replacing these independent Ministers by a homogeneous Ministry, chosen from the same party, representing the same sentiments, and bound together for common action by a sense of responsibility and loyalty to the party to which it belonged. Not only would such a plan secure a unity of administration which had been unknown till then, but it gave an organization to the House of Commons which it had never had before. The Ministers who were representatives of the majority of its members became the natural leaders of the House. Small factions were drawn together into the two great parties which supported or opposed the Ministry of the Crown. Above all it brought about in the simplest possible way the solution of the problem which had so long vexed both King and Commons. The new Ministers ceased in all but name to be the King's servants. They became simply an executive Committee representing the will of the majority of the House of Commons, and capable of being easily set aside by it and replaced by a similar Committee whenever the balance of power shifted from one side of the House to the other.

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Such was the origin of that system of representative government which has gone on from Sunderland's day to our own. But though William showed his own political genius in understanding and adopting Sunderland's plan, it was only slowly and tentatively that he ventured to carry it out in practice. In spite of the temporary reaction Sunderland believed that the balance of political power was really on the side of the Whigs. Not only were they the natural representatives of the principles of the Revolution, and the supporters of the war, but they stood far above their opponents in parliamentary and administrative talent. At their head stood a group of statesmen, whose close union in thought and action gained them the name of the Junto. Russell,

The Junto

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as yet the most prominent of these, was the victor of La Hogue; John Somers was an advocate who had sprung into fame by his defence of the Seven Bishops; Lord Wharton was known as the most dexterous and unscrupulous of party managers; and Montague was fast making a reputation as the ablest of English financiers. In spite of such considerations, however, it is doubtful whether William would have thrown himself into the hands of a purely Whig Ministry but for the attitude which the Tories took towards the war. Exhausted as France was the war still languished, and the allies failed to win a single victory. Meanwhile English trade was all but ruined by the French privateers, and the nation stood aghast at the growth of taxation. The Tories, always cold in their support of the Grand Alliance, now became eager for peace. The Whigs, on the other hand, remained resolute in their support of the war. William, in whose mind the contest with France was the first object, was thus driven slowly to follow Sunderland's advice. Montague had already met the strain of the war by bringing forward a plan which had been previously suggested by a Scotchman, William Paterson, for the creation of a National Bank. While serving as an ordinary bank for the supply of capital, the Bank of England, as the new institution was called, was in reality an instrument for procuring loans from the people at large by the formal pledge of the State to repay the money advanced on the demand of the lender. A loan of £1,200,000 was thrown open to public subscription; and the subscribers to it were formed into a chartered company in whose hands the negotiations of all after loans was placed. In ten days the list of subscribers was full. The discovery of the resources afforded by the national wealth revealed a fresh source of power; and the rapid growth of the National Debt, as the mass of these loans to the State came to be called, gave a new security against the return of the Stuarts, whose first work would have been the repudiation of the claims of the lenders or "fundholders." The evidence of the public credit gave strength to William abroad, while at home a new unity of action followed the change which Sunderland counselled and which was quietly carried out. One by one the Tory Ministers, already weakened by Montague's success, were replaced by members of the Junto. Russell went to

1694

The National Debt 1694

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the Admiralty; Somers was named Lord Keeper; Shrewsbury, Secretary of State; Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Even before this change was completed its effect was felt. The House of Commons took a new tone. The Whig majority of its members, united and disciplined, moved quietly under the direction of their natural leaders, the Whig Ministers of the Crown. It was this which enabled William to face the shock which was given to his position by the death of Queen Mary. The renewed attacks of the Tories showed what fresh hopes had been raised by William's lonely position. The Parliament, however, whom the King had just conciliated by assenting at last to the Triennial Bill,

Death of Mary 1694

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE STORMING OF TOUBOCAN (DARIEN), 1700.

went steadily with the Ministry; and its fidelity was rewarded by triumph abroad. In 1695 the Alliance succeeded for the first time in winning a great triumph over France in the capture of Namur. The King skilfully took advantage of his victory to call a new Parliament, and its members at once showed their temper by a vigorous support of the war. The Houses, indeed, were no mere tools in William's hands. They forced him to resume prodigal grants of lands made to his Dutch favourites, and to remove his ministers in Scotland who had aided in a wild project for a Scotch colony on the Isthmus of Darien. They claimed a right to name members of the new Board of Trade, established for 1696

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the regulation of commercial matters. They rejected a proposal, never henceforth to be revived, for a censorship of the Press. But

HOUSE AT BRISTOL, USED 1696—1697 AS THE MINT.
Seyer, "Memorials of Bristol."

there was no factious opposition. So strong was the ministry that Montague was enabled to face the general distress that was caused for the moment by a reform of the currency, which had been

reduced by clipping to far less than its nominal value; and in spite of the financial embarrassments created by the reform, William was able to hold the French at bay.

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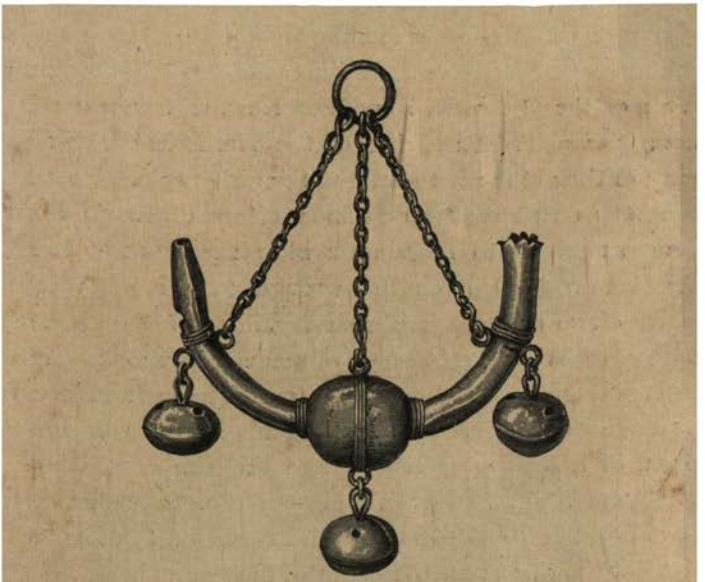
But the war was fast drawing to a close. Lewis was simply fighting to secure more favourable terms, and William, though he held that "the only way of treating with France is with our swords in our hands," was almost as eager as Lewis for a peace. The defection of Savoy made it impossible to carry out the original aim of the Alliance, that of forcing France back to its position at the Treaty of Westphalia, and the question of the Spanish succession was drawing closer every day. The obstacles which were thrown in the way of an accommodation by Spain and the Empire were set aside in a private negotiation between William and Lewis, and the year 1697 saw the conclusion of the Peace of Ryswick. In spite of failure and defeat in the field William's policy had won. The victories of France remained barren in the face of a United Europe; and her exhaustion forced her, for the first time since Richelieu's day, to consent to a disadvantageous peace. On the side of the Empire France withdrew from every annexation save that of Strassburg which she had made since the Treaty of Nimeguen, and Strassburg would have been restored but for the unhappy delays of the German negotiators. To Spain Lewis restored Luxemburg and all the conquests he had made during the war in the Netherlands. The Duke of Lorraine was replaced in his dominions. A far more important provision of the peace pledged Lewis to an abandonment of the Stuart cause and a recognition of William as King of England. For Europe in general the Peace of Ryswick was little more than a truce. But for England it was the close of a long and obstinate struggle and the opening of a new æra of political history. It was the final and decisive defeat of the conspiracy which had gone on between Lewis and the Stuarts ever since the Treaty of Dover, the conspiracy to turn England into a Roman Catholic country and into a dependency of France. But it was even more than this. It was the definite establishment of England as the centre of European resistance against all attempts to overthrow the balance of power.

Peace of Ryswick
1697

MARLBOROUGH.
Drawing by Sir G. Kneller, in British Museum.



SILVER CALL-WHISTLE.
Seventeenth Century.
In the possession of Lord Zouche.

Section IX.—Marlborough, 1698—1712

[*Authorities.*—Lord Macaulay's great work, which practically ends at the Peace of Ryswick, has been continued by Lord Stanhope ("History of England under Queen Anne") during this period. For Marlborough himself the main authority must be the Duke's biography by Archdeacon Coxe, with his "Despatches." The French side of the war and negotiations has been carefully given by M. Martin ("Histoire de France") in what is the most accurate and judicious portion of his work. Swift's Journal to Stella and his political tracts, and Bolingbroke's correspondence, show the character of the Tory opposition.]

The Spanish Succession

What had bowed the pride of Lewis to the humiliating terms of the Peace of Ryswick was not so much the exhaustion of France as the need of preparing for a new and greater struggle. The death of the King of Spain, Charles the Second, was known to be at hand; and with him ended the male line of the Austrian princes, who for two hundred years had occupied the Spanish throne. How strangely Spain had fallen from its high estate in Europe the wars of Lewis had abundantly shown, but so vast was the extent

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of its empire, so enormous the resources which still remained to it, that under a vigorous ruler men believed its old power would at once return. Its sovereign was still master of some of the noblest provinces of the Old World and the New, of Spain itself, of the Milanese, of Naples and Sicily, of the Netherlands, of Southern America, of the noble islands of the Spanish Main. To add such a dominion as this to the dominion either of Lewis or of the Emperor would be to undo at a blow the work of European independence which William had wrought; and it was with a view to prevent either of these results that William freed his hands by the Peace of Ryswick. At this moment the claimants of the Spanish succession were three: the French Dauphin, a son of the Spanish King's elder sister; the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, a grandson of his younger sister; and the Emperor, who was a son of Charles's aunt. In strict law—if there had been any law really applicable to the matter—the claim of the last was the strongest of the three; for the claim of the Dauphin was barred by an express renunciation of all right to the succession at his mother's marriage with Lewis the Fourteenth, a renunciation which had been ratified at the Treaty of the Pyrenees; and a similar renunciation barred the claim of the Bavarian candidate. The claim of the Emperor was more remote in blood, but it was barred by no renunciation at all. William, however, was as resolute in the interests of Europe to repulse the claim of the Emperor as to repulse that of Lewis; and it was the consciousness that the Austrian succession was inevitable if the war continued and Spain remained a member of the Grand Alliance, in arms against France, and leagued with the Emperor, which made him suddenly conclude the Peace of Ryswick. Had England and Holland shared William's temper he would have insisted on the succession of the Electoral Prince to the whole Spanish dominions. But both were weary of war. In England the peace was at once followed by the reduction of the army at the demand of the House of Commons to fourteen thousand men; and a clamour had already begun for the disbanding even of these. It was necessary to bribe the two rival claimants to a waiver of their claims; and by the First Partition Treaty, concluded in 1698, between England, Holland, and France, the succession of the

First Partition Treaty 1698

Electoral Prince was recognized on condition of the cession by Spain of its Italian possessions to his two rivals. The Milanese was to pass to the Emperor; the Two Sicilies, with the border province of Guipuzcoa, to France. But the arrangement was hardly concluded when the death of the Bavarian prince made the Treaty waste paper. Austria and France were left face to face, and a terrible struggle, in which the success of either would be equally fatal to the independence of Europe, seemed unavoidable. The peril was greater that the temper of England left William without the means of backing his policy by arms. The suffering which the war had caused to the merchant class, and the pressure of the debt and taxation it entailed, were waking every day a more bitter

MEDAL COMMEMORATING FIRST PARTITION TREATY, 1698.

resentment in the people, and the general discontent avenged itself on William and the party who had backed his policy. The King's natural partiality to his Dutch favourites, the confidence he gave to Sunderland, his cold and sullen demeanour, his endeavours to maintain the standing army, robbed him of popularity. In the elections held at the close of 1698 a Tory majority pledged to peace was returned to the House of Commons. The Junto lost all hold on the new Parliament. The resignation of Montague and Russell was followed by the dismissal of the Whig ministry, and Somers and his friends were replaced by an administration composed of moderate Tories, with Lords Rochester and Godolphin as its leading members. The fourteen thousand men

Fall of the Junto

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who still remained in the army were cut down to seven. William's earnest entreaty could not turn the Parliament from its resolve to send his Dutch guards out of the country. The navy, which had numbered forty thousand sailors during the war, was cut down to eight. How much William's hands were weakened by this peace-temper of England was shown by the Second Partition Treaty which was concluded between the two maritime powers and France. The demand of Lewis that the Netherlands should

Second Partition Treaty 1700

DUTCH GUARDS.
Temp. William III.
From an engraving by Romeyn de Hooge.

be given to the Elector of Bavaria, whose political position left him a puppet in the French King's hands, was resisted. Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies were assigned to the second son of the Emperor, the Archduke Charles of Austria. But the whole of the Spanish territories in Italy were now granted to France; and it was provided that Milan should be exchanged for Lorraine, whose Duke was to be summarily transferred to the new Duchy. If the Emperor persisted in his refusal to come into the Treaty, the

share of his son was to pass to another unnamed prince, who was probably the Duke of Savoy.

The Emperor still protested, but his protest was of little moment so long as Lewis and the two maritime powers held firmly together. Nor was the bitter resentment of Spain of more avail. The Spaniards cared little whether a French or an Austrian prince sat on the throne of Charles the Second, but their pride revolted against the dismemberment of the monarchy by the loss of its Italian dependencies. Even the dying King shared the anger of his subjects, and a will wrested from him by the factions which wrangled over his death-bed bequeathed the whole monarchy of Spain to a grandson of Lewis, the Duke of Anjou, the second son of the Dauphin. The Treaty of Partition was so recent, and the risk of accepting this bequest so great, that Lewis would hardly have resolved on it but for his belief that the temper of England must necessarily render William's opposition a fruitless one. Never in fact had England been so averse from war. So strong was the antipathy to William's foreign policy that men openly approved the French King's course. Hardly any one in England dreaded the succession of a boy who, French as he was, would as they believed soon be turned into a Spaniard by the natural course of events. The succession of the Duke of Anjou was generally looked upon as far better than the increase of power which France would have derived from the cessions of the last

MEDAL COMMEMORATING HOMAGE OF DUKE OF LORRAINE TO LOUIS XIV.

MEDAL COMMEMORATING NOMINATION OF DUKE OF ANJOU AS KING OF SPAIN.

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Treaty of Partition, cessions which would have turned the Mediterranean, it was said, into a French lake, imperilled the English trade with the Levant and America, and raised France into a formidable power at sea. "It grieves me to the heart," William wrote bitterly, "that almost every one rejoices that France has preferred the Will to the Treaty." Astonished and angered as he was at his rival's breach of faith, he had no means of punishing it. The Duke of Anjou entered Madrid, and Lewis proudly boasted that henceforth there were no Pyrenees. The life-work of William seemed undone. He knew himself to be dying. His cough was incessant, his eyes sunk and dead, his frame so weak that he could hardly get into his coach. But never had he shown himself so great. His courage rose with every difficulty. His temper, which had been heated by the personal affronts lavished on him through English faction, was hushed by a supreme effort of his will. His large and clear-sighted intellect looked through the temporary embarrassments of French diplomacy and English party strife to the great interests which he knew must in the end determine the course of European politics. Abroad and at home all seemed to go against him. For the moment he had no ally save Holland, for Spain was now united with Lewis, while the attitude of Bavaria

Duke of Anjou in Spain 1701

KING
stop thief
All Europ's Rivetted in this Belief
My Grandfather before me was a Thief
Ill steal Spains Crown & Jewels wth its p^elf
And be at last a Nominal king my self

SATIRICAL PLAYING-CARD.
Temp. War of the Spanish Succession.
British Museum.

divided Germany and held the House of Austria in check. The Bavarian Elector indeed, who had charge of the Spanish Netherlands and on whom William had counted, openly joined the French side from the first and proclaimed the Duke of Anjou as King in Brussels. In England the new Parliament was crowded with Tories who were resolute against war. The Tory Ministry pressed him to acknowledge the new King of Spain; and as even Holland did this William was forced to submit. He could only count on the greed of Lewis to help him, and he did not count in vain. The approval of the French King's action had sprung from the belief that he intended to leave Spain to the Spaniards under their new King. Bitter too as the strife of Whig and Tory might be in England, there were two things on which Whig and Tory were agreed. Neither would suffer France to occupy the Netherlands. Neither would endure a French attack on the Protestant succession which the Revolution of 1688 had established. But the arrogance of Lewis blinded him to the need of moderation in his hour of good-luck. In the name of his grandson he introduced French troops into the seven fortresses known as the Dutch barrier, and into Ostend and the coast towns of Flanders. Even the Peace-Parliament at once acquiesced in William's demand for their withdrawal, and authorized him to conclude a defensive

JOHN DRYDEN, DIED 1700.
Picture by Sir G. Kneller.

England and the war

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alliance with Holland. The King's policy indeed was bitterly blamed, while the late ministers, Somers, Russell, and Montague (now become peers), were impeached for their share in the treaties. But outside the House of Commons the tide of national feeling rose as the designs of Lewis grew clearer. He refused to allow the Dutch barrier to be re-established; and a great French fleet gathered in the Channel to support, it was believed, a fresh Jacobite descent, which was proposed by the ministers of James in a letter intercepted and laid before Parliament. Even the House of Commons took fire at this, and the fleet was raised to thirty thousand men, the army to ten thousand. Kent sent up a remonstrance against the factious measures by which the Tories still struggled against the King's policy, with a prayer that addresses might be turned into Bills of Supply; and William was encouraged by these signs of a change of temper to despatch an English force to Holland, and to conclude a secret treaty with the United Provinces for the recovery of the Netherlands from Lewis, and for their transfer with the Milanese to the house of Austria as a means of counter-balancing the new power added to France. But England was still clinging desperately to a hope of peace, when Lewis by a sudden act forced it into war. He had acknowledged William as King in the Peace of Ryswick, and pledged himself to oppose all attacks on his throne. He now entered the bedchamber at St. Germain where James was breathing his last, and promised to acknowledge his son at his death as King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The promise was in fact a declaration of war, and in a moment all England was at one in accepting the challenge. The issue Lewis had raised was no longer a matter of European politics, but the question whether the work of the Revolution should be undone, and whether Catholicism and despotism should be replaced on the throne of England by the arms of France. On such a question as this there was no difference between Tory and Whig. When the death, in 1700, of the last child of the Princess Anne had been followed by a new Act of Succession, not a voice had been raised for James or his son; and the descendants of the daughter of Charles the First, Henrietta of Orleans, whose only child had married the Catholic Duke of Savoy, were passed over in the same silence. The Parliament fell back on the line of

Death of James

Sept. 1701

Act of Settlement 1701

James the First. His daughter Elizabeth had married the Elector Palatine, and her only surviving child, Sophia, was the wife of the late and the mother of the present Elector of Hanover. It was in Sophia and her heirs, being Protestants, that the Act of Settlement vested the Crown. It was enacted that every English sovereign must be in communion with the Church of England as by law established. All future kings were forbidden to leave England without consent of Parliament, and foreigners were excluded from all public posts. The independence of justice was established by a clause which provided that no judge should be removed from office save on an address from Parliament to the Crown. The two principles that the King acts only through his ministers, and that these ministers are responsible to Parliament, were asserted by a requirement that all public business should be formally done in the Privy Council, and all its decisions signed by its members—provisions which went far to complete the parliamentary Constitution which had been drawn up by the Bill of Rights. The national union which had already been shown in this action of the Tory Parliament, now showed itself in the King's welcome on his return from the Hague, where the conclusion of a new Grand Alliance between the Empire, Holland, and the United Provinces, had rewarded William's patience and skill. The Alliance was soon joined by Denmark, Sweden, the Palatinate, and the bulk of the German States. The Parliament of 1702, though still Tory in the main, replied to William's stirring appeal by voting forty thousand soldiers and as many sailors for the coming struggle. A Bill of Attainder was passed

THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.
Reverse of a medal struck to commemorate the Act of Succession, 1701.

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against the new Pretender; and all members of either House and all public officials were sworn to uphold the succession of the House of Hanover.

But the King's weakness was already too great to allow of his taking the field; and he was forced to entrust the war in the Netherlands to the one Englishman who had shown himself capable of a great command. John Churchill, Earl of Marlborough, was born in 1650, the son of a Devonshire Cavalier, whose daughter became at the Restoration mistress of the Duke of York. The shame of Arabella did more perhaps than her father's loyalty to win for her brother a commission in the royal Guards; and, after five years' service abroad under Turenne, the young captain became colonel of an English regiment which was retained in the service of France. He had already shown some of the qualities of a great soldier, an unruffled courage, a bold and venturous temper held in check by a cool and serene judgement, a vigilance and capacity for enduring fatigue which never forsook him. In later years he was known to spend a whole day in reconnoitring, and at Blenheim he remained on horseback for fifteen hours. But courage and skill in arms did less for Churchill on his return to the English court than his personal beauty. In the French camp

Marlborough

M.R DE MARLEBOROUGH.
From an engraving after Van der Meulen.

he had been known as "the handsome Englishman;" and his manners were as winning as his person. Even in age his address was almost irresistible: "he engrossed the graces," says Chesterfield; and his air never lost the careless sweetness which won the favour of Lady Castlemaine. A present of £5,000 from the King's mistress laid the foundation of a fortune which grew rapidly to greatness, as the prudent forethought of the handsome young soldier hardened into the avarice of age. But it was to the Duke of York that Churchill looked mainly for advancement, and he earned it by the fidelity with which as a member of his household he clung to the Duke's fortunes during the dark days of the Popish Plot. He followed James to the Hague and to Edinburgh, and on his master's return he was rewarded with a peerage and the colonelcy of the Life Guards. The service he rendered James after his accession by saving the royal army from a surprise at Sedgemoor would have been yet more splendidly acknowledged but for the King's bigotry. In spite of his master's personal solicitations Churchill remained true to Protestantism; but he knew James too well to count on further favour. Luckily he had now found a new groundwork for his fortunes in the growing influence of his wife over the King's second daughter, Anne; and at the crisis of the Revolution the adhesion of Anne to the cause of Protestantism was of the highest value. No sentiment of gratitude to his older patron hindered Marlborough from corresponding with the Prince of Orange, from promising Anne's sympathy to William's effort, or from deserting the ranks of the King's army when it faced William in the field. His desertion proved fatal to the royal cause; but great as this service was it was eclipsed by a second. It was by his wife's persuasion that Anne was induced to forsake her father and take refuge in Danby's camp. Unscrupulous as his conduct had been, the services which he rendered to William were too great to miss their reward. He became Earl of Marlborough; he was put at the head of a force during the Irish war where his rapid successes won William's regard; and he was given high command in the army of Flanders. But the sense of his power over Anne soon turned Marlborough from plotting treason against James to plot treason against William. Great as was his greed of gold, he had

Churchill and James

Churchill and William

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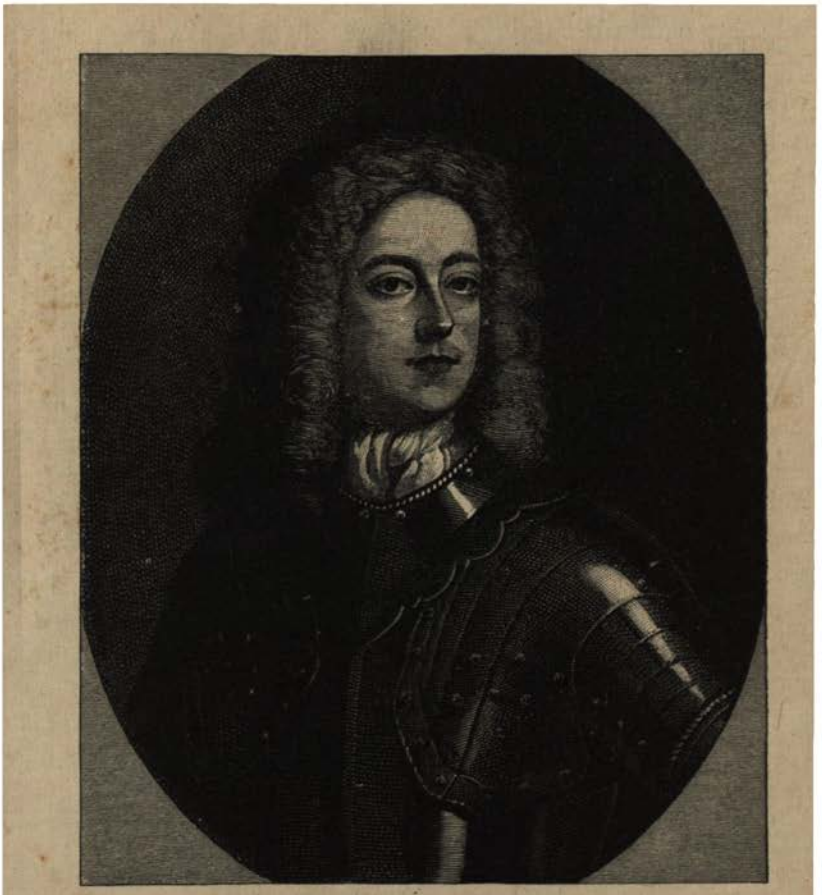
married Sarah Jennings, a penniless beauty of Charles's court, in whom a violent and malignant temper was strangely combined with a power of winning and retaining love. Churchill's affection for her ran like a thread of gold through the dark web of his career. In the midst of his marches and from the very battle-field



JOHN CHURCHILL, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.
Picture by J. Closterman, in National Portrait Gallery.

he writes to his wife with the same passionate tenderness. The composure which no danger or hatred could ruffle broke down into almost womanish depression at the thought of her coldness or at any burst of her violent humour. He never left her without a pang. "I did for a great while with a perspective glass look upon

the cliffs," he once wrote to her after setting out on a campaign, "in hopes that I might have had one sight of you." It was no wonder that the woman who inspired Marlborough with a love like this bound to her the weak and feeble nature of the Princess Anne. The two friends threw off the restraints of state, and

SARAH, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.
Picture by Sir Godfrey Kneller, in National Portrait Gallery.

addressed each other as "Mrs. Freeman" and "Mrs. Morley." It was on his wife's influence over her friend that the Earl's ambition counted in its designs against William. His plan was to drive the King from the throne by backing the Tories in their opposition to the war as well as by stirring to frenzy the English

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hatred of foreigners, and to seat Anne in his place. The discovery of his designs roused the King to a burst of unusual resentment. "Were I and my Lord Marlborough private persons," William exclaimed, "the sword would have to settle between us." As it was, he could only strip the Earl of his offices and command, and drive his wife from St. James's. Anne followed her favourite, and the court of the Princess became the centre of the Tory opposition; while Marlborough opened a correspondence with James. So notorious was his treason that on the eve of the

MEMORIAL OF WILLIAM III.
Unique gold medal in British Museum.

French invasion of 1692 he was one of the first of the suspected persons sent to the Tower.

Marlborough and the Grand Alliance

The death of Mary forced William to recall Anne, who became by this event his successor; and with Anne the Marlboroughs returned to court. The King could not bend himself to trust the Earl again; but as death drew near he saw in him the one man whose splendid talents fitted him, in spite of the baseness and treason of his life, to rule England and direct the Grand Alliance in his stead. He employed Marlborough therefore to negotiate the treaty of alliance with the Emperor, and put him at the head of the army in Flanders. But the Earl had only just taken the

command when a fall from his horse proved fatal to the broken frame of the King. "There was a time when I should have been glad to have been delivered out of my troubles," the dying man whispered to Portland, "but I own I see another scene, and could wish to live a little longer." He knew, however, that the wish was vain, and commended Marlborough to Anne as the fittest person to lead her armies and guide her counsels. Anne's zeal needed no quickening. Three days after her accession the Earl was named Captain-General of the English forces at home and abroad, and entrusted with the entire direction of the war. His supremacy over home affairs was secured by the construction of a purely Tory administration with Lord Godolphin, a close friend of Marlborough's, as Lord Treasurer at its head. The Queen's affection for his wife ensured him the support of the Crown at a moment when Anne's personal popularity gave the Crown a new weight with the nation. In England, indeed, party feeling for the moment died away. All save the extreme Tories were won over to the war now that it was waged on behalf of a Tory queen by a Tory general, while the most extreme of the Whigs were ready to back even a Tory general in waging a Whig war. Abroad, however, William's death shook the Alliance to its base; and even Holland wavered in dread of being deserted by England in the coming struggle. But the decision of Marlborough soon did away with this distrust. Anne was made to declare from the throne her resolve to pursue with energy the policy of her predecessor. The Parliament was brought to sanction vigorous measures for the prosecution of the war. The new general hastened to the Hague, received the command of the Dutch as well as of the English forces, and drew the German powers into the Confederacy with a skill and adroitness which even William might have envied. Never was greatness more quickly recognized than in the case of Marlborough. In a few months he was regarded by all as the guiding spirit of the Alliance, and princes whose jealousy had worn out the patience of the King yielded without a struggle to the counsels of his successor. His temper fitted him in an especial way to be the head of a great confederacy. Like William, he owed little of his power to any early training. The trace of his neglected education was seen to the last in his reluctance to write.

Death of William
Mar. 1702

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"Of all things," he said to his wife, "I do not love writing." To pen a despatch indeed was a far greater trouble to him than to plan a campaign. But nature had given him qualities which in other men spring specially from culture. His capacity for business was immense. During the next ten years he assumed the general direction of the war in Flanders and in Spain. He managed every negotiation with the courts of the allies. He watched over the shifting phases of English politics. He crossed the Channel to win over Anne to a change in the Cabinet, or hurried to Berlin to secure the due contingent of Electoral troops from Brandenburg. At one and the same moment men saw him reconciling the Emperor with the Protestants of Hungary, stirring the Calvinists of the Cévennes into revolt, arranging the affairs of Portugal, and providing for the protection of the Duke of Savoy. But his air showed no trace of fatigue or haste or vexation. He retained to the last the indolent grace of his youth. His natural dignity was never ruffled by an outbreak of temper. Amidst the storm of battle his soldiers saw their leader "without fear of danger or in the least hurry, giving his orders with all the calmness imaginable." In the cabinet he was as cool as on the battle-field. He met with the same equable serenity the pettiness of the German princes, the phlegm of the Dutch, the ignorant opposition of his officers, the libels of his political opponents. There was a touch of irony in the simple expedients by which he sometimes solved problems which had baffled Cabinets. The touchy pride of the King of Prussia made him one of the most vexatious among the allies, but all difficulty with him ceased when Marlborough rose at a state banquet and handed him a napkin. Churchill's composure rested partly indeed on a pride which could not stoop to bare the real self within to the eyes of meaner men. In the bitter moments before his fall he bade Godolphin burn some querulous letters which the persecution of his opponents had wrung from him. "My desire is that the world may continue in their error of thinking me a happy man, for I think it better to be envied than pitied." But in great measure it sprang from the purely intellectual temper of his mind. His passion for his wife was the one sentiment which tinged the colourless light in which his understanding moved. In all else he was without love or hate, he

knew neither doubt nor regret. In private life he was a humane and compassionate man; but if his position required it he could betray Englishmen to death, or lead his army to a butchery such as that of Malplaquet. Of honour or the finer sentiments of mankind he knew nothing; and he turned without a shock from guiding Europe and winning great victories to heap up a matchless fortune by peculation and greed. He is perhaps the only instance of a man of real greatness who loved money for money's sake. The passions which stirred the men around him, whether noble or ignoble, were to him simply elements in an intellectual problem which had to be solved by patience. "Patience will overcome all things," he writes again and again. "As I think most things are governed by destiny, having done all things we should submit with patience."

SATIRICAL PLAYING-CARD.
Temp. Marlborough.
British Museum.

Marlborough and the War

As a statesman the high qualities of Marlborough were owned by his bitterest foes. "Over the Confederacy," says Bolingbroke, "he, a new, a private man, acquired by merit and management a more decided influence than high birth, confirmed authority, and even the crown of Great Britain, had given to King William." But great as he was in the council, he was even greater in the field. He stands alone amongst the masters of the art of war as a captain whose victories began at an age when the work of most men is done. Though he served as a young officer under Turenne and for a few months in Ireland and the Netherlands, he had held

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no great command till he took the field in Flanders at the age of fifty-two. He stands alone, too, in his unbroken good fortune. Voltaire notes that he never besieged a fortress which he did not take,

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH'S RUNNING FOOTMEN.
Tapestry at Blenheim Palace, representing the Battle of Blenheim.

or fought a battle which he did not win. His difficulties came not so much from the enemy, as from the ignorance and timidity of his own allies. He was never defeated in the field, but victory after victory was snatched from him by the incapacity of his officers or

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Opening of the war

the stubbornness of the Dutch. What startled the cautious strategists of his day was the vigour and audacity of his plans. Old as he was, Marlborough's designs had from the first all the dash and boldness of youth. On taking the field in 1702 he at once resolved to force a battle in the heart of Brabant. The plan was foiled by the timidity of the Dutch deputies. But his resolute

EUGENE AND MARLBOROUGH RECONNOITRING.
From an engraving by Camsvelt.

advance across the Meuse drew the French forces from that river, and enabled him to reduce fortress after fortress in a series of sieges, till the surrender of Liége closed a campaign which cut off the French from the Lower Rhine, and freed Holland from all danger of an invasion. The successes of Marlborough had been brought into bolder relief by the fortunes of the war in other quarters. Though the Imperialist general, Prince Eugene

BATTLE OF HOCHSTÄDT (OR BLENHEIM).

From an engraving by J. van Huchtenburg.

of Savoy, showed his powers by a surprise of the French army at Cremona, no real successes had been won in Italy. An English descent on the Spanish coast ended in failure. In Germany the Bavarians joined the French, and the united armies defeated the forces of the Empire. It was in this quarter that Lewis resolved to push his fortunes. In the spring of 1703 a fresh army under Marshal Villars again relieved the Bavarian Elector from the pressure of the Imperial forces, and only a strife which arose between the two commanders hindered the joint armies from marching on Vienna. Meanwhile the timidity of the Dutch deputies served Lewis well in the Low Countries. The hopes of Marlborough, who had been raised to a Dukedom for his services in the previous year, were again foiled by the deputies of the States-General. Serene as his temper was, it broke down before their refusal to co-operate in an attack on Antwerp and French Flanders; and the prayers of Godolphin and of the pensionary Heinsius alone induced him to withdraw his offer of resignation. But in spite of his victories on the Danube, of the blunders of his adversaries on the Rhine, and the sudden aid of an insurrection which broke out in Hungary, the difficulties of Lewis were hourly increasing. The accession of Savoy to the Grand Alliance threatened his armies in Italy with destruction. That of Portugal gave the allies a base of operations against Spain. The French King's energy however rose with the pressure; and while the Duke of Berwick, a natural son of James the Second, was despatched against Portugal, and three small armies closed round Savoy, the flower of the French troops joined the army of Bavaria on the Danube; for the bold plan of Lewis was to decide the fortunes of the war by a victory which would wrest peace from the Empire under the walls of Vienna.

Blenheim

The master-stroke of Lewis roused Marlborough at the opening of 1704 to a master-stroke in return; but the secrecy and boldness of the Duke's plans deceived both his enemies and his allies. The French army in Flanders saw in his march upon Maintz only a design to transfer the war into Elsass. The Dutch were lured into suffering their troops to be drawn as far from Flanders as Coblentz by proposals for an imaginary campaign on the Moselle. It was only when Marlborough crossed the Neckar and struck

SURRENDER OF MARSHAL TALLARD.

Tapestry at Blenheim Palace, representing the Battle of Blenheim.

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through the centre of Germany for the Danube that the true aim of his operations was revealed. After struggling through the hill country of Würtemberg, he joined the Imperial army under the Prince of Baden, stormed the heights of Donauwerth, crossed the Danube and the Lech, and penetrated into the heart of Bavaria. The crisis drew the two armies which were facing one another on the Upper Rhine to the scene. The arrival of Marshal Tallard with thirty thousand French troops saved the Elector of Bavaria for the moment from the need of submission; but the junction of his opponent, Prince Eugene, with Marlborough raised the contending forces again to an equality. After a few marches the armies met on the north bank of the Danube, near the little town of Hochstädt and the village of Blindheim or Blenheim, which have given their names to one of the most memorable battles in the history of the world. In one respect the struggle which followed stands almost unrivalled, for the whole of the Teutonic race was represented in the strange medley of Englishmen, Dutchmen, Hanoverians, Danes, Würtembergers, and Austrians who followed Marlborough and Eugene. The French and Bavarians, who numbered like their opponents some fifty thousand men, lay behind a little stream which ran through swampy ground to the Danube. Their position was a strong one, for its front was covered by the swamp, its right by the Danube, its left by the hill-country in which the stream rose; and Tallard had not only entrenched himself, but was far superior to his rival in artillery. But for once Marlborough's hands were free. "I have great reason," he wrote calmly home, "to hope that everything will go well, for I have the pleasure to find all the officers willing to obey without knowing any other reason than that it is my desire, which is very different from what it was in Flanders, where I was obliged to have the consent of a council of war for everything I undertook." So formidable were the obstacles, however, that though the allies were in motion at sunrise, it was not till midday that Eugene, who commanded on the right, succeeded in crossing the stream. The English foot at once forded it on the left and attacked the village of Blindheim in which the bulk of the French infantry were entrenched; but after a furious struggle the attack was repulsed, while as gallant a resistance at the other end of the line held

Aug. 13, 1704

"MALBOROUK."
Illustration, Early Nineteenth Century, to French song (broadside), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

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Eugene in check. The centre, however, which the French believed to be unassailable, had been chosen by Marlborough for the chief point of attack; and by making an artificial road across the morass he was at last enabled to throw his eight thousand horsemen on the French cavalry which occupied this position. Two desperate charges which the Duke headed in person decided the day. The French centre was flung back on the Danube and forced to surrender. Their left fell back in confusion on Hochstädt: while their right, cooped up in Blindheim and cut off from retreat, became prisoners of war. Of the defeated army only twenty thousand escaped. Twelve thousand were slain, fourteen thousand were captured. Germany was finally freed from the French; and Marlborough, who followed the wreck of the French host in its flight to Elsass, soon made himself master of the Lower Moselle. But the loss of France could not be measured by men or fortresses. A hundred victories since Rocroi had taught the world to regard the French army as invincible, when Blenheim and the surrender of the flower of the French soldiery broke the spell. From that moment the terror of victory passed to the side of the allies, and "Malbrook" became a name of fear to every child in France.

Ramillies

In England itself the victory of Blenheim aided to bring about a great change in the political aspect of affairs. The Tories were resolved to create a permanent Tory majority in the Commons by excluding Nonconformists from the municipal corporations, which returned the bulk of the borough members. The Protestant Dissenters, while adhering to their separate congregations, in which they were now protected by the Toleration Act, "qualified for office" by the "occasional conformity" of receiving the sacrament at Church once in the year. It was against this "occasional conformity" that the Tories introduced a test to exclude the Nonconformists; and this test at first received Marlborough's support. But it was steadily rejected by the Lords as often as it was sent up to them, and it was soon guessed that their resistance was secretly backed by both Marlborough and Godolphin. Tory as he was, in fact, Marlborough had no mind for an unchecked Tory rule, or for a revival of religious strife which would be fatal to the war. But he strove in vain to propitiate his party by inducing the Queen to set aside the tenths and first-fruits hitherto

Occasional conformity

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paid by the clergy to the Crown as a fund for the augmentation of small benefices, a fund which still bears the name of Queen Anne's Bounty. The Commons showed their resentment by refusing to add a grant of money to the grant of a Dukedom after his first campaign; and the higher Tories, with Lord Nottingham at their head, began to throw every obstacle they could in the way of the continuance of the war. At last they quitted office in 1704, and Marlborough replaced them by Tories of a more moderate stamp who were still in favour of the war: by Robert Harley, who became Secretary of State, and Henry St. John, a man of splendid talents, who was named Secretary at War. The Duke's march into Germany, which pledged England to a struggle in the heart of the Continent, embittered the political strife. The high Tories and Jacobites threatened, if Marlborough failed, to bring his head to the block, and only the victory of Blenheim saved him from political ruin. Slowly and against his will the Duke drifted from his own party to the party which really backed his policy. He availed himself of the national triumph over Blenheim to dissolve Parliament; and when the election of 1705, as he hoped, returned a majority in favour of the war, his efforts brought about a coalition between the moderate Tories who still clung to him and the Whig Junto, whose support was purchased by making a Whig, William Cowper, Lord Keeper, and by sending Lord Sunderland as envoy to Vienna. The bitter attacks of the peace party were entirely foiled by this union, and Marlborough at last felt secure at home. But he had to bear disappointment abroad. His plan of attack along the line of the Moselle was defeated by the refusal of the Imperial army to join him. When he entered the French lines across the Dyle, the Dutch generals withdrew their troops; and his proposal to attack the Duke of Villeroy in the field of Waterloo was rejected in full council of war by the deputies of the States with cries of "murder" and "massacre." Even Marlborough's composure broke into bitterness at the blow. "Had I had the same power I had last year," he wrote home, "I could have won a greater victory than that of Blenheim." On his complaint the States recalled their commissaries, but the year was lost; nor had greater results been brought about in Italy or on the Rhine. The spirits of the allies were only sustained by the

The Coalition Ministry

romantic exploits of Lord Peterborough in Spain. Profligate, unprincipled, flighty as he was, Peterborough had a genius for war, and his seizure of Barcelona with a handful of men, his recognition of the old liberties of Aragon, roused that province to support the cause of the second son of the Emperor, who had been acknowledged as King of Spain by the allies under the title of Charles the Third. Catalonia and Valencia soon joined Aragon in declaring for Charles: while Marlborough spent the winter of 1705 in negotiations at Vienna, Berlin, Hanover, and the Hague, and in preparations for the coming campaign. Eager for freedom of

CHARLES MORDAUNT, EARL OF PETERBOROUGH.
From a mezzotint by J. Simon of a picture by M. Dahl.

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action, and sick of the Imperial generals as of the Dutch, he planned a march over the Alps and a campaign in Italy; and though his designs were defeated by the opposition of the allies, he found himself unfettered when he again appeared in Flanders in 1706. The French marshal Villeroy was as eager as Marlborough for an engagement; and the two armies met on the 23rd of May at the village of Ramillies on the undulating plain which forms the highest ground in Brabant. The French were drawn up in a wide curve with morasses covering their front. After a feint on their left, Marlborough flung himself on their right wing at Ramillies, crushed it in a brilliant charge that he led in person, and swept along their

DIMALEQUA SITIS NON GAUDET TERTIUS HARPES DENXVIIMALUS
GALLIA VET HISPANA TIBI PRIMA LICET
UNO PR&LIO VICE CAPTI SVEL
DELETIVS BEEUGAT
1706
CONCORDIA ANGLE ET ET AE BRA
BANT ET FLANDRIA TITVS
DOMINORES
NATIONVM HOC DVCE DECVS IMPERII
MAIESTAVO HOC PRAETVLIT ORIBVS
MEDAL TO COMMEMORATE BATTLE OF RAMILLIES.

whole line till it broke in a rout which only ended beneath the walls of Louvain. In an hour and a half the French had lost fifteen thousand men, their baggage, and their guns; and the line of the Scheldt, Brussels, Antwerp and Bruges became the prize of the victors. It only needed four successful sieges which followed the battle of Ramillies to complete the deliverance of Flanders.

The Union with Scotland

The year which witnessed the victory of Ramillies remains yet more memorable as the year which witnessed the final Union of England with Scotland. As the undoing of the earlier union had been the first work of the Government of the Restoration, its revival was one of the first aims of the Government which followed

the Revolution. But the project was long held in check by religious and commercial jealousies. Scotland refused to bear any part of the English debt. England would not yield any share in her monopoly of trade with the colonies. The English Churchmen longed for a restoration of Episcopacy north of the border, while the Scotch Presbyterians would not hear even of the legal toleration of Episcopalians. In 1703, however, an Act of Settlement which passed through the Scotch Parliament at last brought home to English statesmen the dangers of further delay. In dealing with this measure the Scotch Whigs, who cared only for the independence of their country, joined hand in hand with the Scotch Jacobites, who looked only to the interests of the Pretender. The Jacobites excluded from the Act the name of the Princess Sophia; the Whigs introduced a provision that no sovereign of England should be recognized as sovereign of Scotland save upon security given to the religion, freedom, and trade of the Scottish people. Great as the danger arising from such a measure undoubtedly was, for it pointed to a recognition of the Pretender in Scotland on the Queen's death, and such a recognition meant war between Scotland and England, it was only after three years' delay that the wisdom and resolution of Lord Somers brought the question to an issue. The Scotch proposals of a federative rather than a legislative union were set aside by his firmness; the commercial jealousies of the English trader were put by; and the Act of Union provided that the two kingdoms should be united into one under the name of Great Britain, and that the succession to the crown of this United Kingdom should be ruled by the provisions of the English Act of Settlement. The Scotch Church and the Scotch law were left untouched: but all rights of trade were thrown open, and a uniform system of coinage adopted. A single Parliament was henceforth to represent the United Kingdom, and for this purpose forty-five Scotch members were added to the five hundred and thirteen English members of the House of Commons, and sixteen representative peers to the one hundred and eight who formed the English House of Lords. In Scotland the opposition was bitter and almost universal. The terror of the Presbyterians indeed was met by an Act of Security which became part of the Treaty of Union and which required an oath to support the Presbyterian

1706

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Church from every sovereign on his accession. But no securities could satisfy the enthusiastic patriots or the fanatical Cameronians. The Jacobites sought troops from France and plotted a Stuart

SECOND GREAT SEAL OF ANNE, 1707, COMMEMORATING THE UNION WITH SCOTLAND.
(Obverse.)

restoration. The nationalists talked of seceding from the Houses which voted for the Union, and of establishing a rival Parliament. In the end, however, good sense and the loyalty of the trading classes to the cause of the Protestant succession won their way.

The measure was adopted by the Scotch Parliament, and the Treaty of Union became in 1707 a legislative act to which Anne gave her assent in noble words. "I desire," said the Queen, "and

SECOND GREAT SEAL OF ANNE, 1707, COMMEMORATING THE UNION WITH SCOTLAND.
(Reverse.)

expect from my subjects of both nations that from henceforth they act with all possible respect and kindness to one another, that so it may appear to all the world they have hearts disposed to become one people." Time has more than answered these hopes. The

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two nations whom the Union brought together have ever since remained one. England gained in the removal of a constant danger of treason and war. To Scotland the Union opened up new avenues of wealth which the energy of its people turned to wonderful account. The farms of Lothian have become models of agricultural skill. A fishing town on the Clyde has grown into the rich and populous Glasgow. Peace and culture have changed the wild clansmen of the Highlands into herdsmen and farmers. Nor was the change followed by any loss of national spirit. The world has hardly seen a mightier and more rapid developement of national energy than that of Scotland after the Union. All that passed away was the jealousy which had parted since the days of Edward the First two peoples whom a common blood and common speech proclaimed to be one. The Union between Scotland and England has been real and stable simply because it was the legislative acknowledgement and enforcement of a national fact.

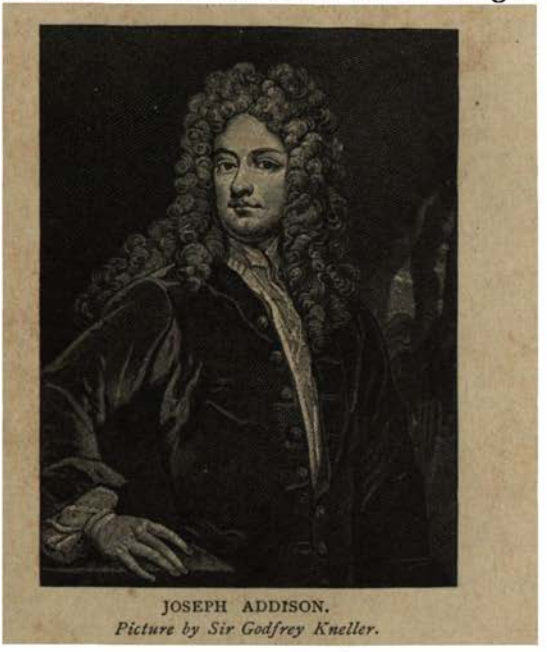
Marlborough and the Whigs

With the defeat of Ramillies the fortunes of France reached their lowest ebb. The loss of Flanders was followed by the loss of Italy after a victory by which Eugene relieved Turin; and not only did Peterborough hold his ground in Spain, but Charles the Third with an army of English and Portuguese entered Madrid. Marlborough was at the height of his renown. Ramillies gave him strength enough to force Anne, in spite of her hatred of the Whigs,

1706 to fulfil his compact with them by admitting Lord Sunderland, the bitterest leader of their party, to office. But the system of political balance which he had maintained till now began at once to break down. Constitutionally, Marlborough's was the last attempt to govern England on other terms than those of party government, and the union of parties to which he had clung ever since his severance from the extreme Tories soon became impossible. The growing opposition of the Tories to the war threw the Duke more and more on the support of the Whigs, and the Whigs sold their support dearly. Sunderland, who had inherited his father's conceptions of party government, was resolved to restore a strict party administration on a purely Whig basis, and to drive the moderate Tories from office in spite of Marlborough's desire to retain them. The Duke wrote hotly home at the news of the pres-

1706 sure which the Whigs were putting on him. "England," he said,

"will not be ruined because a few men are not pleased." Nor was Marlborough alone in his resentment. Harley foresaw the danger of his expulsion from office, and began to intrigue at court, through Mrs. Masham, a bedchamber woman of the Queen, who was supplanting the Duchess in Anne's favour, against the Whigs and against Marlborough. St. John, who owed his early promotion to office to the Duke's favour, was driven by the same fear to share Harley's schemes. Marlborough strove to win both of them back, but he was helpless in the hands of the only party that steadily supported the war. A factious union of the Whigs with their



JOSEPH ADDISON.
Picture by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

opponents, though it roused the Duke to a burst of unusual passion in Parliament, effected its end by convincing him of the impossibility of further resistance. The opposition of the Queen indeed was stubborn and bitter. Anne was at heart a Tory, and her old trust in Marlborough died with his submission to the Whig demands. It was only by the threat of resignation that he had forced her to admit Sunderland to office; and the violent outbreak of temper with which the Duchess enforced her husband's will changed the Queen's friendship for her into a bitter resentment. Marlborough was driven to increase this resentment by fresh compliances with

ENGLISH SQUADRON CARRYING TROOPS TO TAKE POSSESSION OF DUNKIRK.
"History of Queen Anne," 1740.

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the conditions which the Whigs imposed on him, by removing Peterborough from his command as a Tory general, and by wresting from Anne her consent to the dismissal from office of Harley and St. John with the moderate Tories whom they headed. Their removal was followed by the complete triumph of the Whigs. Somers became President of the Council, Wharton Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, while lower posts were occupied by men destined to play a great part in our later history, such as the young Duke of Newcastle and Robert Walpole. Meanwhile, the great struggle abroad went on, with striking alternations of success. France rose with singular rapidity from the crushing blow of Ramillies. Spain was recovered for Philip by a victory of Marshal Berwick at Almanza. Villars won fresh triumphs on the Rhine, while Eugène, who had penetrated into Provence, was driven back into Italy. In Flanders, Marlborough's designs for taking advantage of his great victory were foiled by the strategy of the Duke of Vendôme and by the reluctance of the Dutch, who were now wavering towards peace. In the campaign of 1708, however, Vendôme, in spite of his superiority in force, was attacked and defeated at Oudenarde; and though Marlborough was hindered from striking at the heart of France by the timidity of the English and Dutch statesmen, he reduced Lille, the strongest of its frontier fortresses, in the face of an army of relief which numbered a hundred thousand men. The pride of Lewis was at last broken by defeat and by the terrible suffering of France. He offered terms of peace which yielded all that the allies had fought for. He consented to withdraw his aid from Philip of Spain, to give up ten Flemish fortresses to the Dutch, and to surrender to the Empire all that France had gained since the Treaty of Westphalia. He offered to acknowledge Anne, to banish the Pretender from his dominions, and to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk, a port hateful to England as the home of the French privateers.

Triumph of the Whigs 1708

1707

Oudenarde

To Marlborough peace now seemed secure; but in spite of his counsels, the allies and the Whig Ministers in England demanded that Lewis should with his own troops compel his grandson to give up the crown of Spain. "If I must wage war," replied the King, "I had rather wage it against my enemies than against my children." In a bitter despair he appealed to France; and

England and the War

BATTLE OF MALPLAQUET.
"*History of Queen Anne*," 1740.

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exhausted as it was, the campaign of 1709 proved how nobly France answered his appeal. The terrible slaughter which bears the name of the battle of Malplaquet showed a new temper in the French soldiers. Starving as they were, they flung away their rations in their eagerness for the fight, and fell back at its close in serried masses that no efforts of Marlborough could break. They had lost twelve thousand men, but the forcing their lines of entrenchment had cost the allies a loss of double that number. Horror at such a "deluge of blood" increased the growing weariness of the war; and the rejection of the French offers was unjustly attributed to a desire on the part of Marlborough of lengthening out a contest which brought him profit and power. A storm of popular passion burst suddenly on the Whigs. Its occasion was a dull and silly sermon in which a High Church divine, Dr. Sacheverell, maintained the doctrine of non-resistance at St. Paul's. His boldness challenged prosecution; but in spite of the warning of Marlborough and of Somers the Whig Ministers resolved on his impeachment before the Lords, and the trial at once widened into a great party struggle. An outburst of popular enthusiasm in Sacheverell's favour showed what a storm of hatred had gathered against the Whigs and the war. The most eminent of the Tory Churchmen stood by his side at the bar, crowds escorted him to the court and back again, while the streets rang

Malplaquet.

SACHEVERELL'S TRIUMPH.
Design for Playing-Card, 1710.
British Museum.

Sacheverell.

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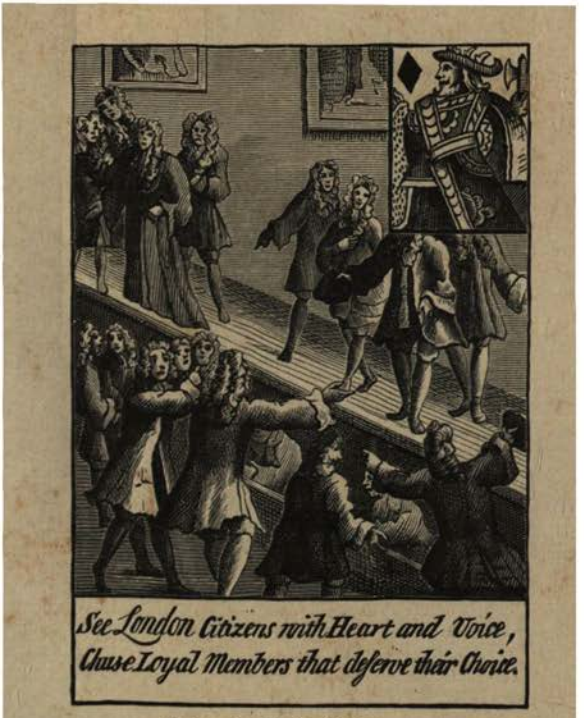
with cries of "The Church and Dr. Sacheverell." A small majority of the peers found the preacher guilty, but the light sentence they inflicted was in effect an acquittal, and bonfires and illuminations over the whole country welcomed it as a Tory triumph.

Fall of Marlborough

The party whom the Whigs had striven to crush were roused to new life. The expulsion of Harley and St. John from the Ministry had given the Tories leaders of a more subtle and vigorous stamp than the High Churchmen who had quitted office in the first years of the war, and St. John brought into play a new engine of political attack whose powers soon made themselves felt. In the *Examiner* and in a crowd of pamphlets and periodicals which followed in its train, the humour of Prior, the bitter irony of Swift, and St. John's own brilliant sophistry spent themselves on the abuse of the war and of its general. "Six millions of supplies and almost fifty millions of debt!" Swift wrote bitterly; "the High Allies have been the ruin of us!" Marlborough was ridiculed and reviled, he was accused of insolence, cruelty and ambition, of corruption and greed. Even his courage was called in question. The turn of popular feeling freed Anne at once from the pressure beneath which she had bent: and the subtle intrigue of Harley was busy in undermining the Ministry. The Whigs, who knew the Duke's alliance with them had simply been forced on him by the war, were easily persuaded that the Queen had no aim but



Design for Playing-Card, 1710.
British Museum.

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1698 TO 1712

to humble him, and looked coolly on at the dismissal of his son-in-law, Sunderland, and his friend, Godolphin. Marlborough on his part was lured by hopes of reconciliation with his old party, and looked on as coolly while Anne dismissed the Whig Ministers and appointed a Tory Ministry in their place, with Harley and St. John at its head. But the intrigues of Harley paled before the subtle treason of St. John. Resolute to drive Marlborough from his command, he fed the Duke's hopes of reconciliation with the Tories, till he led him to acquiesce in his wife's dismissal, and to pledge himself to a co-operation with the Tory policy. It was the Duke's belief that a reconciliation with the Tories was effected that led him to sanction the despatch of troops which should have strengthened his army in Flanders on a fruitless expedition against Canada, though this left him too weak to carry out a masterly plan which he had formed for a march into the heart of France in the opening of 1711. He was unable even to risk a battle or to do more than to pick up a few seaboard towns, and St. John at once turned the small results of the campaign into an argument for the conclusion of peace. In defiance of an article of the Grand Alliance which pledged its members not to carry on separate negotiations with France, St. John, who now became Lord Bolingbroke, pushed forward a secret accommodation between England and France. It was for this negotiation that he had

Dismissal of the Whigs 1710

Design for Playing-Card, 1710
British Museum.

1711

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crippled Marlborough's campaign; and it was the discovery of his perfidy which revealed to the Duke how utterly he had been betrayed, and forced him at last to break with the Tory Ministry. He returned to England; and his efforts induced the House of Lords to denounce the contemplated peace; but the support of the Commons and the Queen, and the general hatred of the war among the people, enabled Harley to ride down all resistance. At the opening of 1712 the Whig majority in the House of Lords was swamped by the creation of twelve Tory peers. Marlborough was dismissed from his command, charged with peculation, and condemned as guilty by a vote of the House of Commons. The Duke at once withdrew from England, and with his withdrawal all opposition to the peace was at an end.

Treaty of Utrecht 1713

Marlborough's flight was followed by the conclusion of a Treaty at Utrecht between France, England, and the Dutch; and the desertion of his allies forced the Emperor at last to make peace at Rastadt. By these treaties the original aim of the war, that of preventing the possession of France and Spain by the House of Bourbon, was abandoned. No precaution was taken against the dangers it involved to the "balance of power," save by a provision that the two crowns should never be united on a single head, and by Philip's renunciation of all right of succession to the throne of France. The principle on which the Treaties were based was in fact that of the earlier Treaties of Partition. Philip retained Spain and the Indies: but he ceded his possessions in Italy and the Netherlands with the island of Sardinia to Charles of Austria, who had now become Emperor, in satisfaction of his claims; while he handed over Sicily to the Duke of Savoy. To England he gave up not only Minorca but Gibraltar, two positions which secured her the command of the Mediterranean. France had to consent to the re-establishment of the Dutch barrier on a greater scale than before; to pacify the English resentment against the French privateers by the dismantling of Dunkirk; and not only to recognize the right of Anne to the crown, and the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover, but to consent to the expulsion of the Pretender from her soil. The failure of the Queen's health made the succession the real question of the day, and it was a question which turned all politics into faction and intrigue. The Whigs,

who were still formidable in the Commons, and who showed the strength of their party in the Lords by defeating a Treaty of Commerce, in which Bolingbroke anticipated the greatest financial triumph of William Pitt and secured freedom of trade between England and France, were zealous for the succession of the

HENRY ST. JOHN, VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.
Picture by Sir G. Kneller, at Petworth.

Elector; nor did the Tories really contemplate any other plan. But on the means of providing for his succession Harley and Bolingbroke differed widely. Harley inclined to an alliance between the moderate Tories and the Whigs. The policy of Bolingbroke, on the other hand, was so to strengthen the Tories by

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the utter overthrow of their opponents, that whatever might be the Elector's sympathies they could force their policy on him as King. To ruin his rival's influence he introduced a Schism Bill, which

ROBERT HARLEY, EARL OF OXFORD.
From an engraving by J. van Huchtenburg.

hindered any Nonconformist from acting as a schoolmaster or a tutor; and which broke Harley's plans by creating a more bitter division than ever between Tory and Whig. But its success went

beyond his intentions. The Whigs regarded the Bill as the first step in a Jacobite restoration. The Electress Sophia was herself alarmed, and the Hanoverian ambassador demanded for the son of the Elector, the future George the Second, who had been created Duke of Cambridge, a summons as peer to the coming Parliament, with the aim of securing the presence in England of a Hanoverian Prince in case of the Queen's death. The Queen's anger, fanned

EMBLEMS OF THE SILVERSMITHS' CRAFT, 1700.
Bagford Collection, British Museum.

by Bolingbroke, broke out in a letter to the Electress which warned her that "such conduct may imperil the succession itself;" and in July Anne was brought to dismiss Harley, now Earl of Oxford, and to construct a strong and united Tory Ministry which would back her in her resistance to the Elector's demand. As the crisis grew nearer, both parties prepared for civil war. In the beginning of 1714 the Whigs had made ready for a rising on the Queen's death, and invited Marlborough from Flanders to head

YOU are desired to meet the Rest of the Mistery of Goldsmith's at the Parish Church of St Lawrence near Guildhall on Friday . the Sixth day of February 1707 at nine of the Clock in the Morning precisely there to hear a Sermon &s from thence to Accompany y^m to Goldsmiths hall in Foster lane to Dine with

Your Friends and Servants

Gabriel Player
Lewis Mettayer
Robert Balme

(F)

John East
Edward Lammas
Thomas Morrey

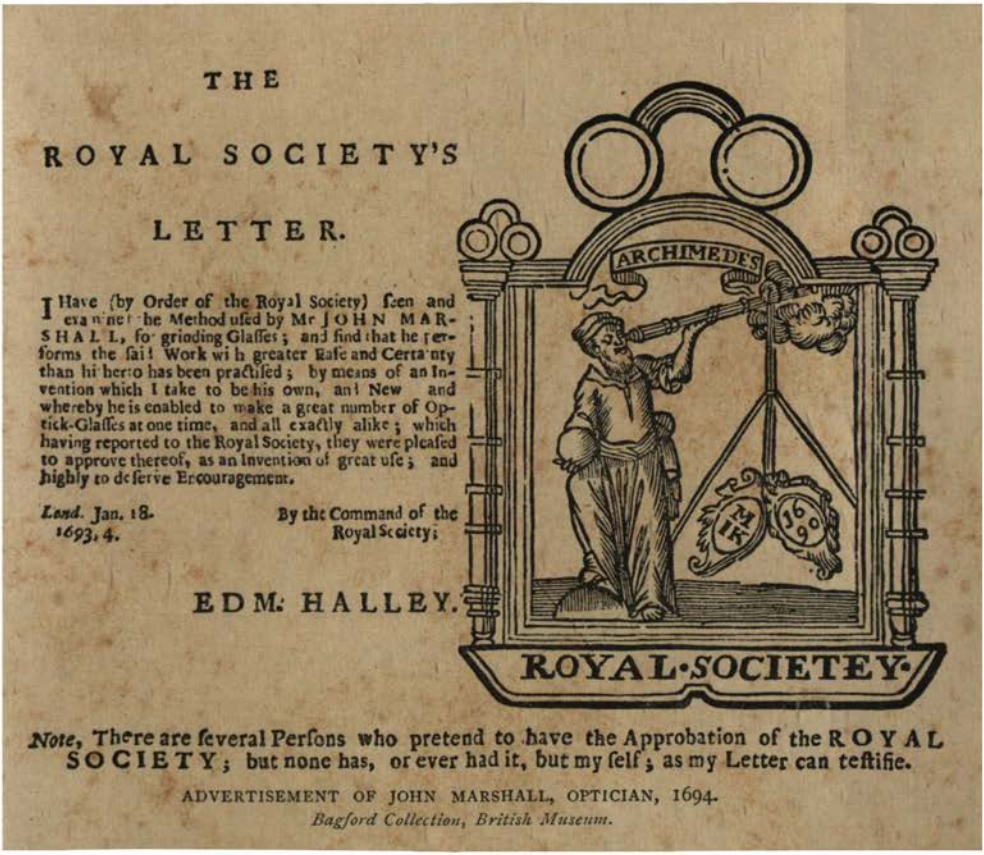
STEWARDS

pray pay ye Bearer Four shillings

INVITATION TO A MEETING OF THE GOLDSMITHS' COMPANY, 1707.

Bagford Collection, British Museum.

them, in the hope that his name would rally the army to their cause. Bolingbroke, on the other hand, intent on building up a strong Tory party, made the Duke of Ormond, whose sympathies were known to be in favour of the Pretender's succession, Warden of the Cinque Ports, the district in which either claimant of the crown must land, while he gave Scotland in charge to the Jacobite



THE

ROYAL SOCIETY'S

LETTER.

I Have (by Order of the Royal Society) ſeen and examined the Method uſed by Mr JOHN MARSHALL, for grinding Glaſſes; and find that he performs the ſaid Work with greater Eaſe and Certainty than hitherto has been practiſed; by means of an Invention which I take to be his own, and New and whereby he is enabled to make a great number of Optick-Glaſſes at one time, and all exactly alike; which having reported to the Royal Society, they were pleaſed to approve thereof, as an Invention of great uſe; and highly to deſerve Encouragement.

Lond. Jan. 18. 1693, 4.

By the Command of the Royal Society;

EDM. HALLEY.

ARCHIMEDES

ROYAL·SOCIETEY·

Note, There are ſeveral Perſons who pretend to have the Approbation of the ROYAL SOCIETY; but none has, or ever had it, but my ſelf; as my Letter can teſtifie.

ADVERTISEMENT OF JOHN MARSHALL, OPTICIAN, 1694.
Bagford Collection, British Museum.

Earl of Mar. But events moved faster than his plans. Anne was suddenly struck with apoplexy. The Privy Council at once assembled, and at the news the Whig Dukes of Argyll and Somerset entered the Council Chamber without summons and took their places at the board. The step had been taken in secret concert with the Duke of Shrewsbury, who was President of the Council in the Tory Ministry, but a rival of Bolingbroke and an

Death of Anne

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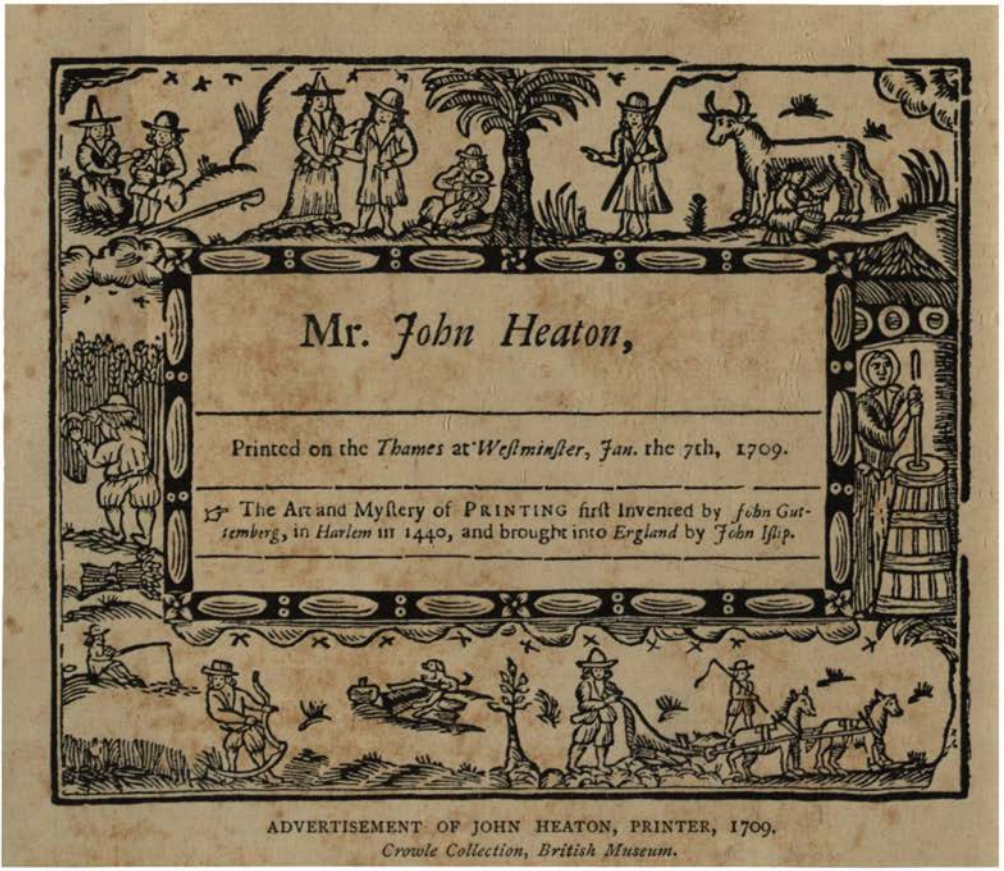
adherent of the Hanoverian succession. The act was a decisive one. The right of the House of Hanover was at once acknowledged, Shrewsbury was nominated as Lord Treasurer by the Council, and the nomination was accepted by the dying Queen. Bolingbroke, though he remained Secretary of State, suddenly found himself powerless and neglected, while the Council took steps to provide for the emergency. Four regiments were summoned to the capital in the expectation of a civil war. But the Jacobites were hopeless and unprepared; and on the death of Anne the Elector George of Hanover, who had become heir to the throne by his mother's death, was proclaimed King of England without a show of opposition.

Aug. 10 1714


Mr. John Heaton,
Printed on the Thames at Weſtminſter, Jan. the 7th, 1709.
The Art and Myſtery of PRINTING firſt Invented by John Gutſemberg, in Harlem in 1440, and brought into England by John Iſlip.

ADVERTISEMENT OF JOHN HEATON, PRINTER, 1709.
Crowle Collection, British Museum.

PRINTING OFFICE, c. 1710.
Engraving in Bagford Collection, British Museum.

Section X.—Walpole, 1712—1742

[*Authorities.*—Coxe's Life of Sir Robert Walpole, Horace Walpole's "Memoirs of the Reign of George II.," and Lord Hervey's amusing Memoirs from the accession of George II. to the death of Queen Caroline, give the main materials on one side; Bolingbroke's Letter to Sir William Wyndham, his "Patriot King," and his correspondence afford some insight into the other. Horace Walpole's Letters to Sir Horace Mann give a minute account of his father's fall. A sober and judicious account of the whole period may be found in Lord Stanhope's "History of England from the Peace of Utrecht."]

England and Europe

The accession of George the First marked a change in the position of England in the European Commonwealth. From the age of the Plantagenets the country had stood apart from more than passing contact with the fortunes of the Continent. But the Revolution had forced her to join the Great Alliance of the European peoples; and shameful as were some of its incidents, the Peace of Utrecht left her the main barrier against the ambition of the House of Bourbon. And not only did the Revolution set England irrevocably among the powers of Europe, but it assigned her a special place among them. The result of the alliance and the war had been to establish what was then called a "balance of

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power" between the great European states; a balance which rested indeed not so much on any natural equilibrium of forces as on a compromise wrung from warring nations by the exhaustion of a great struggle; but which, once recognized and established, could be adapted and readjusted, it was hoped, to the varying political conditions of the time. Of this balance of power, as recognized and defined in the Treaty of Utrecht and its successors, England became the special guardian. The stubborn policy of the Georgian statesmen has left its mark on our policy ever since. In struggling for peace and for the sanctity of treaties, even though the struggle was one of selfish interest, England took a ply which she has never wholly lost. Warlike and imperious as is her national temper, she has never been able to free herself from a sense that her business in the world is to seek peace alike for herself and for the nations about her, and that the best security for peace lies in her recognition, amidst whatever difficulties and seductions, of the force of international engagements and the sanctity of treaties.

Tempest's "Cries of London," 1688—1702.

England and the House of Hanover

At home the new King's accession was followed by striking political results. Under Anne the throne had regained much of the older influence which it lost through William's unpopularity; but under the two sovereigns who followed Anne the power of the Crown lay absolutely dormant. They were strangers, to whom loyalty in its personal sense was impossible; and their character

Decline of the royal influence

as nearly approached insignificance as it is possible for human character to approach it. Both were honest and straightforward men, who frankly accepted the irksome position of constitutional kings. But neither had any qualities which could make their honesty attractive to the people at large. The temper of George the First was that of a gentleman usher; and his one care was to get money for his favourites and himself. The temper of George the Second was that of a drill-sergeant, who believed himself master of his realm while he repeated the lessons he had learnt from his wife, and which his wife had learnt from the Minister. Their Court is familiar enough in the witty memoirs of the time; but as political figures the two Georges are almost absent from our history. William of Orange had not only used the power of rejecting bills passed by the two Houses, but had kept in his own hands the control of foreign affairs. Anne had never yielded even to Marlborough her exclusive right of dealing with Church preferment and had presided to the last at the Cabinet Councils of her ministers. But with the accession of the Georges these reserves passed away. No sovereign since Anne's death has appeared at a Cabinet Council, or has ventured to refuse his assent to an Act of Parliament. As Elector of Hanover indeed the King still dealt with Continental affairs: but his personal interference roused an increasing jealousy, while it affected in a very slight degree the foreign policy of his English counsellors. England, in short, was

Tempest's "Cries of London, 1688—1702.

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governed not by the King, but by the Whig ministers of the Crown. Nor had the Whigs to fear any effective pressure from their political opponents. "The Tory party," Bolingbroke wrote after Anne's death, "is gone." In the first House of Commons indeed which was called by the new King, the Tories hardly numbered fifty members; while a fatal division broke their strength in the country at large. In their despair the more vehement among them turned to the Pretender. Lord Oxford was impeached and sent to the Tower; Bolingbroke and the Duke of Ormond fled from England to take office under the son of King James. At home Sir William Wyndham seconded their efforts by building up a Jacobite faction out of the wreck of the Tory party. The Jacobite secession gave little help to the Pretender, while it dealt a fatal blow to the Tory cause. England was still averse from a return of the Stuarts; and the suspicion of Jacobite designs not only alienated the trading classes, who shrank from the blow to public credit which a Jacobite repudiation of the debt would bring about, but deadened the zeal even of the parsons and squires; while it was known to have sown a deep distrust of the whole Tory party in the heart of the new sovereign. The Crown indeed now turned to the Whigs; while the Church, which up to this time had been the main stumbling-block of their party, was sinking into political insignificance, and was no longer a formidable enemy. For more than thirty years the Whigs ruled England. But the length of their rule was not wholly due to the support of the Crown or the

Withdrawal of the Tories

A Merry new Song

Tempest's "Cries of London," 1688—1702

Rule of the Whigs

secession of the Tories. It was in some measure due to the excellent organization of their party. While their adversaries were divided by differences of principle and without leaders of real eminence, the Whigs stood as one man on the principles of the Revolution and produced great leaders who carried them into effect. They submitted with admirable discipline to the guidance of a knot of great nobles, to the houses of Bentinck, Manners, Campbell, and Cavendish, to the Fitzroys and Lennoxes, the Russells and Grenvilles, families whose resistance to the Stuarts, whose share in the Revolution, whose energy in setting the line of Hanover on the throne, gave them a claim to power. It was due yet more largely to the activity with which the Whigs devoted themselves to the gaining and preserving an ascendency in the House of Commons. The support of the commercial classes and of the great towns was secured not only by a resolute maintenance of public credit, but by the special attention which each ministry paid to questions of trade and finance. Peace and the reduction of the land-tax conciliated the farmers and the landowners, while the Jacobite sympathies of the bulk of the squires, and their consequent withdrawal from all share in politics, threw even the representation of the shires for a time into Whig hands. Of the county members, who formed the less numerous but the weightier part of the lower House, nine-tenths were for some years relatives and dependents of the great Whig families. Nor were coarser means of controlling Parliament neglected. The wealth of the Whig

Tempest's "Cries of London," 1688—1702.

The Whigs and Parliament

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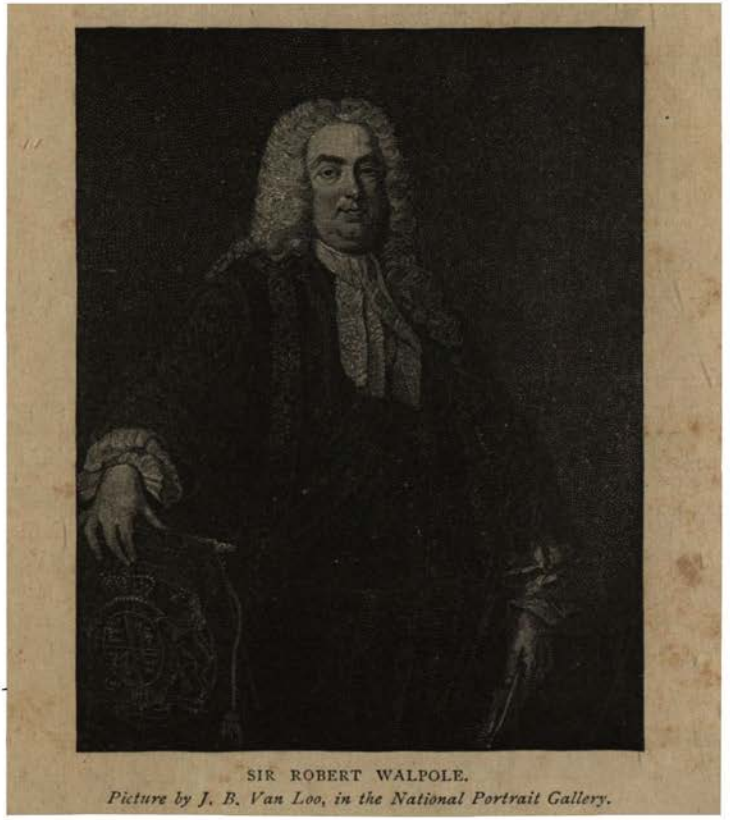
houses was lavishly spent in securing a monopoly of the small and corrupt constituencies which made up a large part of the borough representation. It was spent yet more unscrupulously in Parliamentary bribery. Corruption was older than Walpole or the Whig Ministry, for it sprang out of the very transfer of power to the House of Commons which had begun with the Restoration. The transfer was complete, and the House was supreme in the State; but while freeing itself from the control of the Crown, it was as yet imperfectly responsible to the people. It was only at election time that a member felt the pressure of public opinion. The secrecy of parliamentary proceedings, which had been needful as a safeguard against royal interference with debate, served as a safeguard against interference on the part of constituencies. This strange union of immense power with absolute freedom from responsibility brought about its natural results in the bulk of members. A vote was too valuable to be given without recompense; and parliamentary support had to be bought by places, pensions, and bribes in hard cash. But dexterous as was their management, and compact as was their organization, it was to nobler qualities than these that the Whigs owed their long rule over England. They were true throughout to the principles on which they had risen into power, and their unbroken administration converted those principles into national habits. Before their long rule was over, Englishmen had forgotten that it was possible to persecute for difference of opinion, or to put down the liberty of the press, or to tamper with the administration of justice, or to rule without a Parliament.

Walpole

That this policy was so firmly grasped and so steadily carried out was due above all to the genius of Robert Walpole. Born in 1676, he entered Parliament two years before William's death as a young Norfolk landowner of fair fortune, with the tastes and air of the class from which he sprang. His big square figure, his vulgar good-humoured face were those of a common country squire. And in Walpole the squire underlay the statesman to the last. He was ignorant of books, he "loved neither writing nor reading," and if he had a taste for art, his real love was for the table, the bottle, and the chase. He rode as hard as he drank. Even in moments of political peril, the first despatch he would

open was the letter from his gamekeeper. There was the temper of the Norfolk fox-hunter in the "doggedness" which Marlborough noted as his characteristic, in the burly self-confidence which declared "If I had not been Prime Minister I should have been Archbishop of Canterbury," in the stubborn courage which conquered the awkwardness of his earlier efforts to speak, or met single-handed at the last the bitter attacks of a host of enemies.



SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.
Picture by J. B. Van Loo, in the National Portrait Gallery.

There was the same temper in the genial good-humour which became with him a new force in politics. No man was ever more fiercely attacked by speakers and writers, but he brought in no "gagging Act" for the press; and though the lives of most of his assailants were in his hands through their intrigues with the Pretender, he made little use of his power over them. Where his country breeding showed itself most, however, was in the shrewd, narrow, honest character of his mind. Though he saw very

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clearly, he could not see far, and he would not believe what he could not see. He was thoroughly straightforward and true to his own convictions, so far as they went. "Robin and I are two honest men," the Jacobite Shippen owned in later years, when contrasting him with his factious opponents: "he is for King George and I am for King James, but those men with long cravats only desire place either under King George or King James." He saw the value of the political results which the Revolution had won, and he carried out his "Revolution principles" with a rare fidelity through years of unquestioned power. But his prosaic good sense turned sceptically away from the poetic and passionate sides of human feeling. Appeals to the loftier or purer motives of action he laughed at as "school-boy flights." For young members who talked of public virtue or patriotism he had one good-natured answer: "You will soon come off that and grow wiser."

The Jacobite Revolt

How great a part Walpole was to play no one could as yet foresee. Though his vigour in the cause of his party had earned him the bitter hostility of the Tories in the later years of Anne, and a trumped-up charge of peculation had served in 1712 as a pretext for expelling him from the House and committing him to the Tower, at the accession of George the First Walpole was far from holding the commanding position he was soon to assume. The first Hanoverian Ministry was drawn wholly from the Whig party, but its leaders and Marlborough found themselves alike set aside. The direction of affairs was entrusted to the new Secretary of State, Lord Townshend; his fellow Secretary was General Stanhope, who was raised to the peerage. It was as Townshend's brother-in-law, rather than from a sense of his actual ability, that Walpole successively occupied the posts of Paymaster of the Forces, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and First Lord of the Treasury, in the new administration. The first work of the Ministry was to meet a desperate attempt of the Pretender to gain the throne. There was no real prospect of success, for the active Jacobites in England were few, and the Tories were broken and dispirited by the fall of their leaders. The death of Lewis ruined all hope of aid from France; the hope of Swedish aid proved as fruitless; but in spite of Bolingbroke's counsels James Stuart resolved to act alone. Without informing his new minister, he

The Townshend Ministry

ordered the Earl of Mar to give the signal for revolt in the North. In Scotland the triumph of the Whigs meant the continuance of the House of Argyll in power, and the rival Highland clans were as ready to fight the Campbells under Mar as they had been ready to fight them under Dundee or Montrose. But Mar was a leader of different stamp from these. Six thousand Highlanders joined him at Perth, but his cowardice or want of conduct kept his army idle, till Argyll had gathered forces to meet it in an indecisive engagement at Sheriffmuir. The Pre-

Contemporary Print.

tender, who arrived too late for the action, proved a yet more sluggish and incapable leader than Mar: and at the close of 1715 the advance of fresh forces drove James over-sea again and dispersed the clans to their hills. In England the danger passed away like a dream. The accession of the new King had been followed by some outbreaks of riotous discontent; but at the talk of Highland risings and French invasions Tories and Whigs alike rallied round the throne; while the army went hotly for King George. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the arrest of their leader, Sir William

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Wyndham, cowed the Jacobites; and not a man stirred in the west when Ormond appeared off the coast of Devon, and called on his party to rise. Oxford alone, where the University was a hotbed of Jacobitism, showed itself restless; and a few of the Catholic gentry rose in Northumberland, under Lord Derwentwater and Mr. Forster. The arrival of two thousand Highlanders who had been sent to join them by Mar spurred them to a march into Lancashire, where the Catholic party was strongest; but they were soon cooped up in Preston, and driven to a surrender. The Ministry availed itself of its triumph to gratify the Nonconformists by a repeal of the Schism and Occasional Conformity Acts, and to venture on a great constitutional change. Under the Triennial Bill in William's reign the duration of a Parliament was limited to three years. Now that the House of Commons however was become the ruling power in the State, a change was absolutely required to secure steadiness and fixity of political action; and in 1716 this necessity coincided with the desire of the Whigs to maintain in power a thoroughly Whig Parliament. The duration of Parliament was therefore extended to seven years by the Septennial Bill. But the Jacobite rising brought about a yet more momentous change in English policy abroad. At the moment when the landing of James in Scotland had quickened the anxiety of King George that France should be wholly detached from his cause, the actual state of European politics aided to bring about a new triple alliance between France, England, and Holland.

The Septennial Bill

LORD NITHSDALE'S ESCAPE, 1716.
Contemporary Print.

The Whigs and Europe

Since the death of Lewis the Fourteenth in 1715 France had been ruled by the Duke of Orleans as Regent for the young King, Lewis the Fifteenth. The Duke stood next in the succession to the crown, if Philip of Spain observed the renunciation of his rights which he had made in the Treaty of Utrecht. It was well known,

however, that Philip had no notion of observing this renunciation, and the constant dream of every Spaniard was to recover all that Spain had given up. To attempt this was to defy Europe; for Savoy had gained Sicily: the Emperor held the Netherlands, Naples, and the Milanese; Holland looked on the Barrier fortresses as vital to its own security; while England clung tenaciously to the American trade. But the boldness of Cardinal Alberoni, who was now the Spanish Minister, accepted the risk; and while his master was intriguing against the Regent in France, Alberoni promised aid to the Jacobite cause as a means of preventing the interference of England with his designs. His first attempt was to recover the Italian provinces which Philip had lost, and armaments greater than Spain had seen for a century reduced Sardinia in 1717. England and France at once drew together and entered into a compact by which France guaranteed the succession of the House of Hanover in England, and England the succession of the House of Orleans, should Lewis the Fifteenth die without heirs; and the two powers were joined, though unwillingly, by Holland. When in the summer of 1718 a strong Spanish force landed in Sicily, and made itself master of the island, the appearance of an English squadron in the Straits of Messina was followed by an engagement in which the Spanish fleet was all but destroyed. Alberoni strove to avenge the blow by fitting out an armament which the

"Old Cloaks, suits or coats."
Tempest's "Cries."

"Small Coale."
Tempest's "Cries."

Alliance against Spain

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"London's Gazette here."
Tempest's "Cries."

Duke of Ormond was to command for a revival of the Jacobite rising in Scotland. But the ships were wrecked in the Bay of Biscay; and the accession of Austria with Savoy to the Triple Alliance left Spain alone in the face of Europe. The progress of the French armies in the north of Spain forced Philip at last to give way. Alberoni was dismissed; and the Spanish forces were withdrawn from Sardinia and Sicily. The last of these islands now passed to the Emperor, Savoy being compensated for its loss by the acquisition of Sardinia, from which its Duke took the title of King; while the work of the Treaty of Utrecht was completed by the Emperor's renunciation of his claims on the crown of Spain and Philip's renunciation of his claims on the Milanese and the two Sicilies.

The Stanhope Ministry

The struggle however had shown the difficulties which the double position of its sovereign was to bring on England In his own mind George cared more for the interests of his Electorate of Hanover than of his kingdom; and these were now threatened by Charles XII. of Sweden, whose anger had been roused at the cession to Hanover of the Swedish possessions of Bremen and Verden by the King of Denmark, who had seized them while Charles was absent in Turkey. The despatch of a British fleet into the Baltic to overawe Sweden identified England with the policy of Hanover, and Charles retorted by joining with Alberoni, and by concluding an alliance with the Czar,

"Long threed laces, long and strong."
Tempest's "Cries."

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1718
England and Hanover

Peter the Great, for a restoration of the Stuarts. Luckily for the new dynasty his plans were brought to an end by his death at the siege of Frederickshall; but the policy which provoked them had already brought about the dissolution of the Ministry. In assenting to a treaty of alliance with Hanover against Sweden, they had yielded to the fact that Bremen and Verden were not only of the highest importance to Hanover, which was thus brought into contact with the sea, but of hardly less value to England, as they secured the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser, the chief inlets for British commerce into Germany, in the hands of a friendly state. But they refused to go further in carrying out a Hanoverian policy; the anger of the King was seconded by intrigues among the ministers; and in 1717 Townshend and Walpole had been forced to resign their posts. In the reconstituted cabinet Lords Sunderland and Stanhope remained supreme; and their first aim was to secure the maintenance of the Whig power by a constitutional change. Harley's creation of twelve peers to ensure the sanction of the Lords to the Treaty of Utrecht showed that the Crown possessed a power of swamping the majority in the House of Peers. In 1720 therefore the Ministry introduced a bill, suggested as was believed by Sunderland, which professed to secure the liberty of the Upper House by limiting the power of the Crown in the creation of fresh Peers. The number of Peers was permanently fixed at the number then sitting in the House; and creations could only be made when vacancies occurred.

"New River Water."
Tempest's "Cries."

"A brass Pott or an iron Pott to mend."
Tempest's "Cries."

The Peerage Bill

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1712
TO
1742

"Buy my Dutch Biskets."
Tempest's "Cries."

Twenty-five hereditary Scotch Peers were substituted for the sixteen elected Peers for Scotland. The bill however was strenuously opposed by Walpole. It would in fact have rendered representative government impossible. For representative government was now coming day by day more completely to mean government by the will of the House of Commons, carried out by a Ministry which served as the mouthpiece of that will. But it was only through the prerogative of the Crown, as exercised under the advice of such a Ministry, that the Peers could be forced to bow to the will of the Lower House in matters where their opinion was adverse to it; and the proposal of Sunderland would have brought legislation and government to a dead lock. The Peerage Bill owed its defeat to Walpole's opposition; and his rivals were forced to admit him, with Townshend, into the Ministry, though they held subordinate places. But this soon gave way to a more natural arrangement.

South Sea Bubble

The sudden increase of English commerce begot at this moment the mania of speculation. Ever since the age of Elizabeth the unknown wealth of Spanish America had acted like a spell upon the imagination of Englishmen; and Harley gave countenance to a South Sea Company, which promised a reduction of the public debt as the price of a monopoly of the Spanish trade. Spain however clung jealously to her old prohibitions of all foreign commerce; and the Treaty of Utrecht only won for England the right of engaging in the negro slave-trade, and of despatching a single ship to the

"Fine Writeing Inke."
Tempest's "Cries."

coast of Spanish America. But in spite of all this, the Company again came forward, offering in exchange for new privileges to pay off national burdens which amounted to nearly a million a year. It

TRADE LABEL OF THE SOUTH SEA COMPANY.
Guildhall Museum.

was in vain that Walpole warned the Ministry and the country against this "dream." Both went mad; and in 1720 bubble Company followed bubble Company, till the inevitable reaction brought a general ruin in its train. The crash brought Stanhope to the

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grave. Of his colleagues, many were found to have received bribes from the South Sea Company to back its frauds. Craggs, the Secretary of State, died of terror at the investigation; Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was sent to the Tower; and in the general wreck of his rivals Walpole mounted again into power

Walpole's Ministry

In 1721 he became First Lord of the Treasury, while Townshend returned to his post of Secretary of State. But their relative position was now reversed. Townshend had been the head in their earlier administration: in this Walpole was resolved, to use his own characteristic phrase, that "the firm should be Walpole and Townshend and not Townshend and Walpole."

Walpole's Peace Policy

If no Minister has fared worse at the hands of poets and historians, there are few whose greatness has been more impartially recognized by practical statesmen. The years of his power indeed are years without parallel in our history for political stagnation. His long administration of more than twenty years is almost without a history. All legislative and political activity seemed to cease with his entry into office. Year after year passed by without a change. In the third year of his Ministry there was but one division in the House of Commons. The Tory members were so few that for a time they hardly cared to attend its sittings; and in 1722 the loss of Bishop Atterbury of Rochester, who was convicted of correspondence with the Pretender, deprived of his bishopric, and banished by Act of Parliament, deprived the Jacobites of their only remaining leader. Walpole's one care was to maintain the quiet which was reconciling the country to the system of the Revolution. But this inaction fell in with the temper of the nation at large. It was popular with the class which commonly presses for political activity. The energy of the trading class was absorbed in the rapid extension of commerce and accumulation of wealth. So long as the country was justly and temperately governed the merchant and shopkeeper were content to leave government in the hands that held it. All they asked was to be let alone to enjoy their new freedom, and develope their new industries. And Walpole let them alone. Progress became material rather than political, but the material progress of the country was such as England had never seen before. The work of keeping England quiet and of giving quiet to Europe, was in itself

a noble one; and it is the temper with which he carried on this work which gives Walpole his place among English statesmen. He was the first and he was the most successful of our Peace Ministers. "The most pernicious circumstances," he said, "in which this country can be are those of war; as we must be losers while it lasts, and cannot be great gainers when it ends." It was not that the honour or influence of England suffered in his hands, for he won victories by the firmness of his policy and the skill of his negotiations as effectual as any which are won by arms. But in spite of the complications of foreign affairs, and the pressure from the Court and the Opposition, it is the glory of Walpole that he resolutely kept England at peace. Peace indeed was hard to maintain. The Emperor Charles the Sixth had issued a Pragmatic

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR, 1727.

Fresh efforts of Spain

Sanction, by which he provided that his hereditary dominions should descend unbroken to his daughter, Maria Theresa; but no European State had yet consented to guarantee her succession. Spain, still resolute to regain her lost possessions, and her old monopoly of trade with her American colonies, seized the opportunity of detaching the Emperor from the alliance of the Four Powers, which left her isolated in Europe. She promised to support the Pragmatic Sanction in return for a pledge from Charles to aid in wresting Gibraltar and Minorca from England, and in securing to a Spanish prince the succession to Parma, Piacenza, and Tuscany. A grant of the highest trading privileges in her American dominions to a commercial company which the Emperor had established at Ostend, in defiance of the Treaty of Westphalia

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and the remonstrances of England and Holland, revealed this secret alliance; and there were fears of the adhesion of Russia. The danger was met for a while by an alliance of England, France, and Prussia; but the withdrawal of the last Power again gave courage to the confederates, and in 1727 the Spaniards besieged Gibraltar, while Charles threatened an invasion of Holland. The moderation of Walpole alone averted a European war. While sending British squadrons to the Baltic, the Spanish coast, and America, he succeeded by diplomatic pressure in again forcing the Emperor to inaction; Spain was at last brought to sign the Treaty of Seville, and to content herself with a promise of the succession of a Spanish prince to the Duchies of Parma and Tuscany; and the discontent of Charles at this concession was allayed in 1731 by giving the guarantee of England to the Pragmatic Sanction.

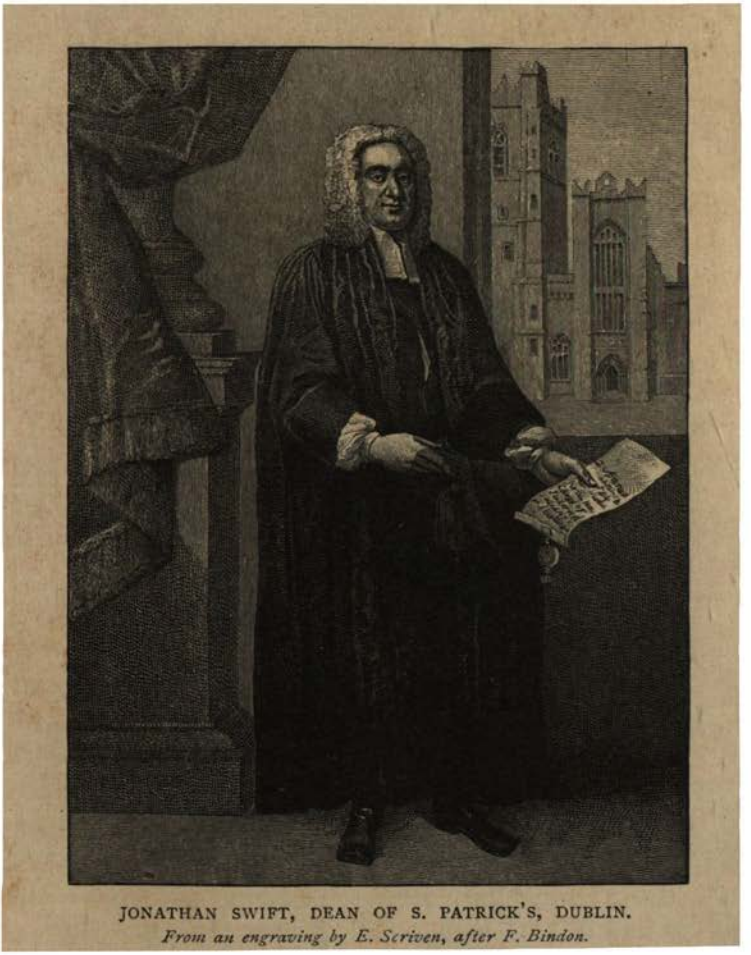
1725

1729

Walpole's Finance

As Walpole was the first of our Peace Ministers, so he was the first of our Financiers. He was far indeed from discerning the powers which later statesmen have shown to exist in a sound finance, but he had the sense to see, what no minister had till then seen, that the wisest course a statesman can take in presence of a great increase in national industry and national wealth is to look quietly on and let it alone. At the outset of his rule he declared in a speech from the Throne that nothing would more conduce to the extension of commerce "than to make the exportation of our own manufactures, and the importation of the commodities used in the manufacturing of them, as practicable and easy as may be." The first act of his financial administration was to take off the duties from more than a hundred British exports, and nearly forty articles of importation. In 1730 he broke in the same enlightened spirit through the prejudice which restricted the commerce of the colonies to the mother-country alone, by allowing Georgia and the Carolinas to export their rice directly to any part of Europe. The result was that the rice of America soon drove that of Italy and Egypt from the market. His Excise Bill, defective as it was, was the first measure in which an English Minister showed any real grasp of the principles of taxation. The wisdom of Walpole was rewarded by a quick upgrowth of prosperity. Our exports, which were six millions in value at the beginning of the century, had doubled by the middle of it. The rapid developement of the

Colonial trade gave England a new wealth. In Manchester and Birmingham, whose manufactures were now becoming of importance, population doubled in thirty years. Bristol, the chief seat of the West Indian trade, rose into new prosperity. Liverpool, which owes its creation to the new trade with the West, sprang



JONATHAN SWIFT, DEAN OF S. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.
From an engraving by E. Scriven, after F. Bindon.

up from a little country town into the third port of the kingdom. With peace and security, and the wealth that they brought with them, the value of land, and with it the rental of every country gentleman, rose fast. But this up-growth of wealth around him never made Walpole swerve from a rigid economy, from the

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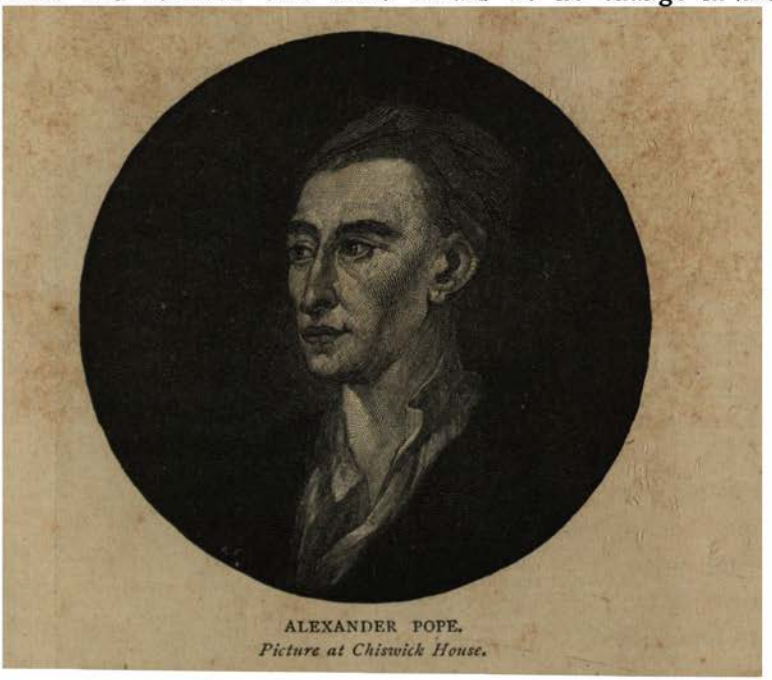
steady reduction of the debt, or the diminution of fiscal duties. Even before the death of George the First the public burdens were reduced by twenty millions.

Walpole and the Parliament

The accession of George the Second in 1727 seemed to give a fatal shock to Walpole's power; for the new King was known to have hated his father's Minister hardly less than he had hated his father. But hate Walpole as he might, the King was absolutely guided by the adroitness of his wife, Caroline of Anspach; and Caroline had resolved that there should be no change in the



ALEXANDER POPE.
Picture at Chiswick House.

Ministry. The years which followed were in fact those in which

George the Second

Walpole's power reached its height. He gained as great an influence over George the Second as he had gained over his father. His hold over the House of Commons remained unshaken. The country was tranquil and prosperous. The prejudices of the landed gentry were met by a steady effort to reduce the land-tax. The Church was quiet. The Jacobites were too hopeless to stir. A few trade measures and social reforms crept quietly through the Houses. An inquiry into the state of the gaols showed that social thought was not utterly dead. A bill of great

Excise Bill

value enacted that all proceedings in courts of justice should henceforth be in the English language. Only once did Walpole break this tranquillity by an attempt at a great measure of statesmanship. No tax had from the first moment of its introduction been more unpopular than the Excise. Its origin was due to Pym and the Long Parliament, who imposed duties on beer, cyder, and perry, which at the Restoration produced an annual income of more than six hundred thousand pounds. The war with France brought with it the malt-tax, and additional duties on spirits, wine, tobacco, and other articles. So great had been the increase in the public wealth that the return from the Excise amounted at the death of George the First to nearly two millions and a half a year. But its unpopularity remained unabated, and even philosophers like Locke contended that the whole public revenue should be drawn from direct taxes upon the land. Walpole, on the other hand, saw in the growth of indirect taxation a means of winning over the country gentry to the new dynasty of the Revolution by freeing the land from all burdens whatever. Smuggling and fraud diminished the revenue by immense sums. The loss on tobacco alone amounted to a third of the whole duty. The Excise Bill of 1733 met this evil by the establishment of bonded warehouses, and by the collection of the duties from the inland dealers in the form of Excise and not of Customs. The first measure would have made London a free port, and doubled English trade. The second would have so largely increased the revenue, without any loss to the consumer, as to enable Walpole to repeal the land-tax. In the case of tea and coffee alone, the change in the mode of levying the duty was estimated to bring in an additional hundred thousand pounds a year. The necessaries of life and the raw materials of manufacture were in Walpole's plan to remain absolutely untaxed. The scheme was an anticipation of the principles which have guided English finance since the triumph of free trade; but in 1733 Walpole stood ahead of his time. A violent agitation broke out; riots almost grew into revolt; and in spite of the Queen's wish to put down resistance by force, Walpole withdrew the bill. "I will not be the Minister," he said with noble self-command, "to enforce taxes at the expense of blood." What had fanned popular prejudice into a flame

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN WALPOLE'S ADMINISTRATION.
From A. Fagg's engraving of a picture by Hogarth and Thornhill.

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The Patriots

during the uproar was the violence of the so-called "Patriots." In the absence of a strong opposition and of great impulses to enthusiasm a party breaks readily into factions; and the weakness of the Tories joined with the stagnation of public affairs to breed faction among the Whigs. Walpole too was jealous of power; and as his jealousy drove colleague after colleague out of office, they became leaders of a party whose sole aim was to thrust him from his post. Greed of power indeed was the one passion which mastered his robust common-sense. Townshend was turned out of office in 1730, Lord Chesterfield in 1733; and though he started with the ablest administration the country had known, Walpole was left after twenty years of supremacy with but one man of ability in his cabinet, the Chancellor, Lord Hardwicke. With the single exception of Townshend, the colleagues whom his jealousy dismissed plunged into an opposition more factious and unprincipled than has ever disgraced English politics. The "Patriots," as they called themselves, owned Pulteney as their head; they were reinforced by a band of younger Whigs—the "Boys," as Walpole named them—whose temper revolted alike against the inaction and cynicism of his policy, and whose spokesman was a young cornet of horse, William Pitt; and they rallied to these the fragment of the Tory party which still took part in politics, and which was guided for a while by the virulent ability of Bolingbroke, whom Walpole had suffered to return from exile, but to whom he had refused the restoration of his seat in the House of Lords. But Walpole's defeat on the Excise Bill had done little to shake his power, and Bolingbroke withdrew to France in despair at the failure of his efforts.

The Spanish War

Abroad the first signs of a new danger showed themselves in 1733, when the peace of Europe was broken afresh by disputes which rose out of a contested election to the throne of Poland. Austria and France were alike drawn into the strife; and in England the awakening jealousy of French designs roused a new pressure for war. The new King too was eager to fight, and her German sympathies inclined even Caroline to join in the fray. But Walpole stood firm for the observance of neutrality. "There are fifty thousand men slain this year in Europe," he boasted as the strife went on, "and not one Englishman." The intervention

"IN PLACE."
Satire on Walpole, 1738.
Contemporary print in British Museum

of England and Holland succeeded in 1736 in restoring peace; but the country noted bitterly that peace was bought by the triumph of both branches of the House of Bourbon. A new Bourbon monarchy was established at the cost of the House of Austria by the cession of the Two Sicilies to a Spanish Prince, in exchange for his right of succession to Parma and Tuscany. On the other hand, Lorraine passed finally into the hands of France. The birth of children to Lewis the Fifteenth had settled all questions of succession in France, and no obstacle remained to hinder their family sympathies from uniting the Bourbon Courts in a common action. As early as 1733 a Family Compact had been secretly concluded between France and Spain, the main object of which was the ruin of the maritime supremacy of Britain. Spain bound herself to deprive England gradually of its commercial privileges in her American dominions, and to transfer them to France. France in return engaged to support Spain at sea, and to aid her in the recovery of Gibraltar. The caution with which Walpole held aloof from the Polish war rendered this compact inoperative for the time; but neither of the Bourbon courts ceased to look forward to its future execution. No sooner was the war ended than France strained every nerve to increase her fleet; while Spain steadily tightened the restrictions on British commerce with her American colonies. The trade with Spanish America, which, illegal as it was, had grown largely through the connivance of Spanish port-officers during the long alliance of England and Spain in the wars against France, had at last received a legal recognition in the Peace of Utrecht. It was indeed left under narrow restrictions; but these were evaded by a vast system of smuggling which rendered what remained of the Spanish monopoly all but valueless. The efforts of Philip however to bring down English intercourse with his colonies to the importation of negroes and the despatch of a single ship, as stipulated by the Treaty of Utrecht, brought about collisions which made it hard to keep the peace. The ill-humour of the trading classes rose to madness in 1738 when a merchant captain named Jenkins told at the bar of the House of Commons the tale of his torture by the Spaniards, and produced an ear which, he said, they had cut off with taunts at the English king. It was in vain that

The Family Compact

England and Spain

"THE MOTION."
Satirical print, 1741.

Walpole strove to do justice to both parties, and that he battled stubbornly against the cry for an unjust and impolitic war. The Emperor's death was now close at hand; and at such a juncture it was of the highest importance that England should be free to avail herself of every means to guard the European settlement. But his efforts were in vain. His negotiations were foiled by the frenzy of the one country and the pride of the other. At home his enemies assailed him with a storm of abuse. Ballad-singers trolled out their rimes to the crowd on the "cur-dog of Britain and spaniel of Spain." His position had been weakened by the death of the Queen; and it was now weakened yet more by the open hostility of the Prince of Wales. His mastery of the House of Commons too was no longer unquestioned. The Tories were slowly returning to Parliament. The numbers and the violence of the "Patriots" had grown with the open patronage of Prince Frederick. The country was slowly turning against him. With the cry for a commercial war the support of the trading class failed him. But it was not till he stood utterly alone that Walpole gave way and that he consented in 1739 to a war against Spain.

Fall of Walpole

"They may ring their bells now," the great minister said bitterly, as peals and bonfires welcomed his surrender; "but they will soon be wringing their hands." His foresight was at once justified. No sooner had Admiral Vernon appeared off the coast of South America with an English fleet, and captured Porto Bello, than France formally declared that she would not consent to any English settlement on the mainland of South America, and despatched two squadrons to the West Indies. At this crisis the death of Charles the Sixth forced on the European struggle which Walpole had dreaded. France saw her opportunity for finishing the work which Henry the Second had begun of breaking up the Empire into a group of powers too weak to resist French aggression. While the new King of Prussia, Frederick the Second, claimed Silesia, Bavaria claimed the Austrian Duchies, which passed with the other hereditary dominions, according to the

MEDAL ON CAPTURE OF PORTOBELLO, 1739.

The Austrian Succession
1740

ACTION AT CARTHAGENA, 1741.

Contemporary engraving, from drawing by H. Gravelot.

Pragmatic Sanction, to the Queen of Hungary, Maria Theresa. In union therefore with Spain, which aimed at the annexation of the Milanese, France promised her aid to Prussia and Bavaria; while Sweden and Sardinia allied themselves to France. In the summer of 1741 two French armies entered Germany, and the Elector of Bavaria appeared unopposed before Vienna. Never had the House of Austria stood in such peril. Its opponents counted on a division of its dominions. France claimed the Netherlands, Spain the Milanese, Bavaria the kingdom of Bohemia, Frederick the Second Silesia. Hungary and the Duchy of Austria alone were left to Maria Theresa. Walpole, though still true to her cause, advised her to purchase Frederick's aid against France and her allies by the cession of part of Silesia; but the "Patriots" spurred her to refusal by promising her the aid of England. Walpole's last hope of rescuing Austria was broken, and Frederick was driven to conclude an alliance with France. But the Queen refused to despair. She won the support of Hungary by restoring its constitutional rights; and British subsidies enabled her to march at the head of a Hungarian army to the rescue of Vienna, to overrun Bavaria, and repulse an attack of Frederick on Moravia in the spring of 1742. On England's part, however, the war was waged feebly and ineffectively. Admiral Vernon was beaten before Carthagena; and Walpole was charged with thwarting and starving the war. He still repelled the attacks of the "Patriots" with wonderful spirit; but in a new Parliament his majority dropped to sixteen, and in his own cabinet he became almost powerless. The buoyant temper which had carried him through so many storms broke down at last. "He who was asleep as soon as his head touched the pillow," writes his son, "now never sleeps above an hour without waking: and he who at dinner always forgot his own anxieties, and was more gay and thoughtless than all the company, now sits without speaking, and with his eyes fixed for an hour together." The end was in fact near; and in the opening of 1742 the dwindling of his majority to three forced Walpole to resign.

Resignation of Walpole

LIBRARY

THE STATE LOTTERY.

The Name of a LOTTERY *the* Nation *bewitches,*
And City *and* Country *run Mad after* Riches:
My Lord, *who already has* Thousands *a Year,*
Thinks to double his Income *by venturing it here:*
The Country Squire *dips his* Houses *and* Grounds,
For Tickets *to gain him the* Ten Thousand Pounds:
The roſie-jowl'd Doctor *his* Rectorie *leaves,*
In queſt of a Prize, *to procure him* Lawn-Sleeves:
The Tradeſman, *whom* Duns *for their* Mony *importune*
Here, hazards his All, *for th'Advance of his* Fortune:

The Footman *reſolves, if he meets no* Diſaſter,
To mount his gilt Chariot, *and vie with his* Maſter:
The Cook-Wench *determines, by one* lucky Hit,
To free her fair Hands *from the* Pothooks *and* Spit:
The Chamber-maid *Struts in her* Ladies Caſt Gown,
And hopes to be dub'd the Top Toaſt *of the* Town:
But Fortune *alaſs! will have ſmall Share of* Thanks,
When all their high Wiſhes *are bury'd in* Blanks:
For tho' they for Benefits *eagerly watch'd,*
They reckon'd their Chickens *before they were hatch'd.*

Engraven By B. Roberts & Sold by him at his Shop in Ball Ally Lombard Street. *Price 4d*

STATE LOTTERY, 1739.

Contemporary print in British Museum.

CHAINED LIBRARY, FOUNDED 1715, AT ALL SAINTS CHURCH, HEREFORD.
Blades, "Bibliographical Miscellanies."

CHAPTER X

MODERN ENGLAND

Section I.—William Pitt, 1742—1762

[*Authorities.*—Lord Stanhope and Horace Walpole, as before. Southey's biography, or the more elaborate life by Mr. Tyerman, gives an account of Wesley. For Pitt himself, the Chatham correspondence, his life by Thackeray, and Lord Macaulay's two essays on him. The Annual Register begins with 1758; its earlier portion has been attributed to Burke. Carlyle's "Frederick the Great" gives a picturesque account of the Seven Years' War. For Clive, see the biography by Sir John Malcolm, and Lord Macaulay's essay.]

The Church and the Georges

THE fall of Walpole revealed a change in the temper of England which was to influence from that time to this its social and political history. New forces, new cravings, new aims, which had been silently gathering beneath the crust of inaction, began

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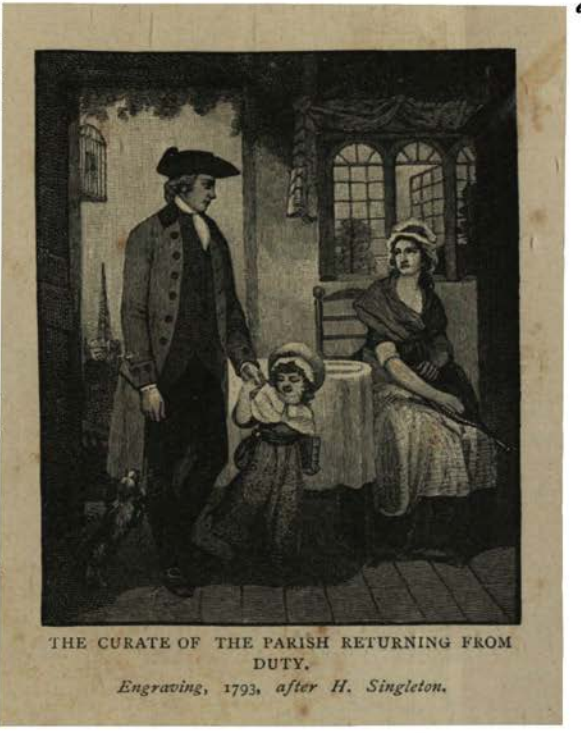
at last to tell on the national life. The stir showed itself markedly in a religious revival which dates from the later years of Walpole's ministry. Never had religion seemed at a lower ebb. The progress of free inquiry, the aversion from theological strife which had been left by the Civil Wars, the new political and material channels opened to human energy, had produced a general indifference to all questions of religious speculation or religious life. The Church, predominant as its influence seemed at the close of the Revolution, had sunk into political insignificance. The bishops, who were now chosen exclusively from among the small number of Whig ecclesiastics, were left politically powerless by the estrangement and hatred of their clergy; while the clergy themselves, drawn by their secret tendencies to Jacobitism, stood sulkily apart from any active interference with public affairs. The prudence of the Whig statesmen aided to maintain this ecclesiastical immobility. They were careful to avoid all that could rouse into life the slumbering forces of bigotry and fanaticism. When the Dissenters pressed for a repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, Walpole openly avowed his dread of awaking the passions of religious hate by such a measure, and satisfied them by an annual act of indemnity for any breach of these penal statutes; while a suspension of the meetings of Convocation deprived the clergy of their natural centre of agitation and opposition. Nor was this political inaction compensated by any

THE VICAR OF THE PARISH RECEIVING HIS TITHES.
Engraving, 1793, after H. Singleton.

religious activity. A large number of prelates were mere Whig partizans with no higher aim than that of promotion. The levees of the Ministers were crowded with lawn sleeves. A Welsh bishop avowed that he had seen his diocese but once, and habitually resided at the lakes of Westmoreland. The system of pluralities turned the wealthier and more learned of the priesthood into absentees, while the bulk of them were indolent, poor and without social consideration. A shrewd, if prejudiced, observer brands the English clergy of the day as the most lifeless in Europe, "the most remiss of their labours in private, and the least severe in their lives." There was a revolt against religion and against churches in both the extremes of English society. In the higher circles of society "every one laughs," said Montesquieu on his visit to England, "if one talks of religion." Of the prominent statesmen of the time the greater part were unbelievers in any form of Christianity, and distinguished for the grossness and immorality of their lives. Drunkenness and foul talk were thought no discredit to Walpole. A later prime minister, the Duke of Grafton, was in the habit of appearing with his mistress at the play. Purity and fidelity to the marriage vow were sneered out of fashion; and Lord Chesterfield, in his letters to his son, instructs him in the art of seduction as part of a polite education. At the other end of the social scale lay the masses of the poor. They were ignorant and brutal to a degree which it is hard to conceive,

Religious indifference



THE CURATE OF THE PARISH RETURNING FROM DUTY.
Engraving, 1793, after H. Singleton.

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for the increase of population which followed on the growth of towns and the developement of commerce had been met by no effort for their religious or educational improvement. Not a new parish had been created. Schools there were none, save the grammar schools of Edward and Elizabeth, and some newly

READING POOR-HOUSE.
Built 1727.
Coates, "History of Reading."

established "circulating schools" in Wales, for religious education. The rural peasantry, who were fast being reduced to pauperism by the abuse of the poor-laws, were left without much moral or religious training of any sort. "We saw but one Bible in the parish of Cheddar," said Hannah More at a far later time, "and

that was used to prop a flower-pot." Within the towns things were worse. There was no effective police ; and in great outbreaks the mob of London or Birmingham burnt houses, flung open prisons, and sacked and pillaged at their will. The criminal class gathered boldness and numbers in the face of ruthless laws which only testified to the terror of society, laws which made it a

FROME SCHOOL (BUILT 1720) AND BRIDGE.
Drawing in British Museum.

capital crime to cut down a cherry tree, and which strung up twenty young thieves of a morning in front of Newgate ; while the introduction of gin gave a new impetus to drunkenness. In the streets of London at one time gin-shops invited every passer-by to get drunk for a penny, or dead drunk for twopence.

The Religious Revival

In spite however of scenes such as this, England remained at heart religious. In the middle class the old Puritan spirit lived

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on unchanged, and it was from this class that a religious revival burst forth at the close of Walpole's administration, which changed after a time the whole tone of English society. The Church was restored to life and activity. Religion carried to the hearts of the people a fresh spirit of moral zeal, while it purified our literature and our manners. A new philanthropy reformed our prisons,

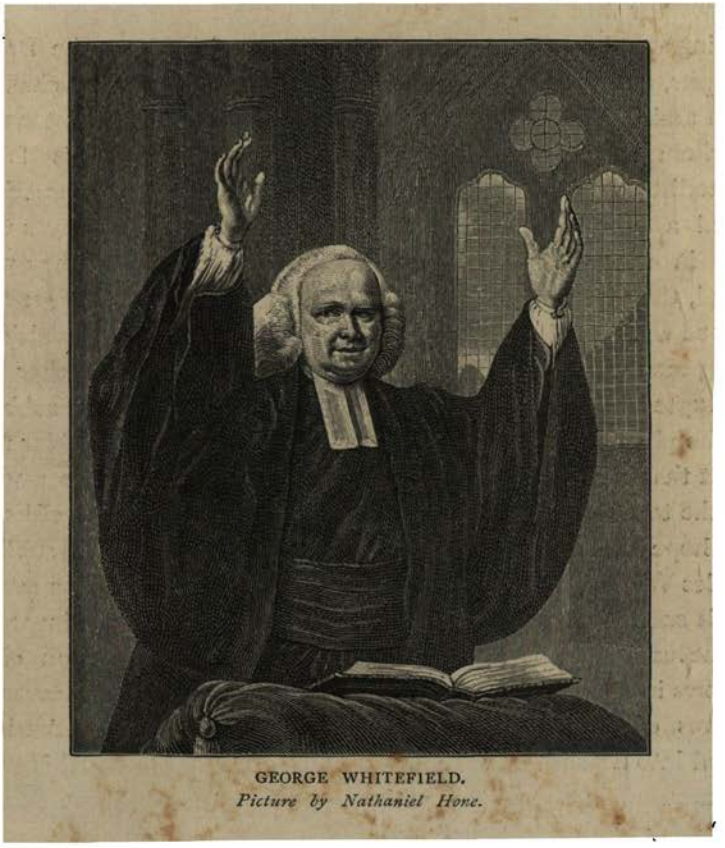
DEAN BERKELEY, HIS WIFE, AND FELLOW MISSIONARIES.
Picture by J. Smybert, at Yale College, Rhode Island.

infused clemency and wisdom into our penal laws, abolished the slave trade, and gave the first impulse to popular education. The revival began in a small knot of Oxford students, whose revolt against the religious deadness of their times showed itself in ascetic observances, an enthusiastic devotion, and a methodical regularity of life which gained them the nickname of "Methodists." Three figures detached themselves from the group as soon as, on

The Methodists

its transfer to London in 1738, it attracted public attention by the fervour and even extravagance of its piety; and each found his special work in the task to which the instinct of the new movement led it from the first, that of carrying religion and morality to the vast masses of population which lay concentrated in the towns, or around the mines and collieries of Cornwall and the north. Whitefield, a servitor of Pembroke College, was above all

Whitefield



GEORGE WHITEFIELD.
Picture by Nathaniel Hone.

the preacher of the revival. Speech was governing English politics; and the religious power of speech was shown when a dread of "enthusiasm" closed against the new apostles the pulpits of the Established Church, and forced them to preach in the fields. Their voice was soon heard in the wildest and most barbarous corners of the land, among the bleak moors of Northumberland, or in the dens of London, or in the long galleries where

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in the pauses of his labour the Cornish miner listens to the sobbing of the sea. Whitefield's preaching was such as England had never heard before, theatrical, extravagant, often commonplace, but hushing all criticism by its intense reality, its earnestness of belief, its deep tremulous sympathy with the sin and sorrow of mankind. It was no common enthusiast who could wring gold from the close-fisted Franklin and admiration from the fastidious Horace Walpole, or who could look down from the top of a green knoll at Kingswood on twenty thousand colliers, grimy from the Bristol coal-pits, and see as he preached the tears "making white channels down their blackened cheeks." On the rough and ignorant masses to whom they spoke the effect of Whitefield and his fellow Methodists was mighty both for good and ill. Their preaching stirred a passionate hatred in their opponents. Their lives were often in danger, they were mobbed, they were ducked, they were stoned, they were smothered with filth. But the enthusiasm they aroused was equally passionate. Women fell down in convulsions; strong men were smitten suddenly to the earth; the preacher was interrupted by bursts of hysteric laughter or of hysteric sobbing. All the phenomena of strong spiritual excitement, so familiar now, but at that time strange and unknown, followed on their sermons; and the terrible sense of a conviction of sin, a new dread of hell, a new hope of heaven, took forms at once grotesque and sublime.

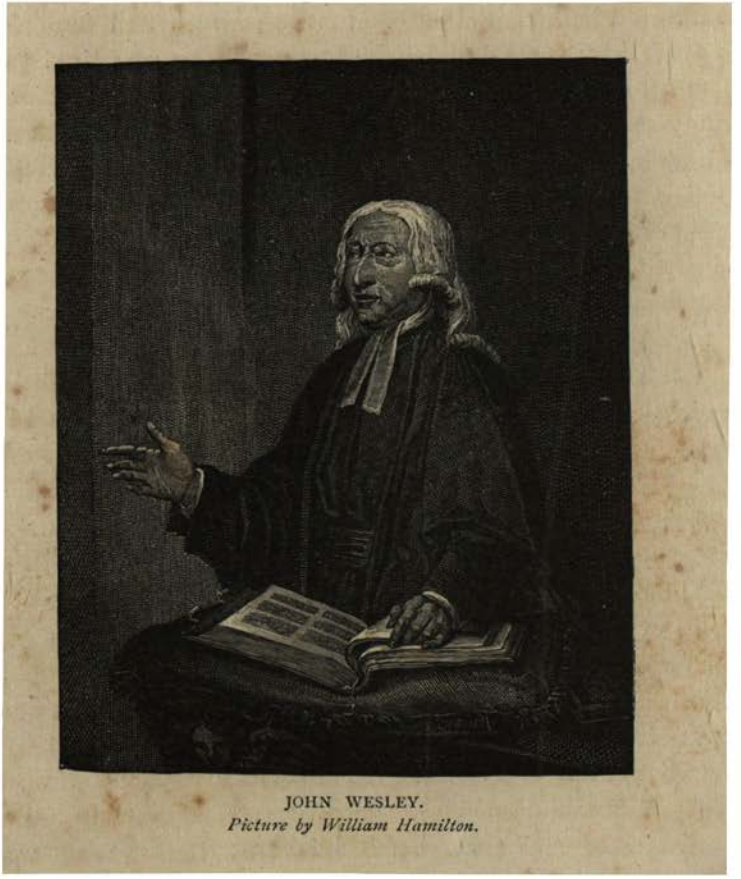
Charles Wesley

Charles Wesley, a Christ Church student, came to add sweetness to this sudden and startling light. He was the "sweet singer" of the movement. His hymns expressed the fiery conviction of its converts in lines so chaste and beautiful that its more extravagant features disappeared. The wild throes of hysteric enthusiasm passed into a passion for hymn-singing, and a new musical impulse was aroused in the people which gradually changed the face of public devotion throughout England.

John Wesley

But it was his elder brother, John Wesley, who embodied in himself not this or that side of the new movement, but the movement itself. Even at Oxford, where he resided as a fellow of Lincoln, he had been looked upon as head of the group of Methodists, and after his return from a quixotic mission to the Indians of Georgia he again took the lead of the little society, which had removed in the interval to London. In power as a preacher he

stood next to Whitefield; as a hymn-writer he stood second to his brother Charles. But while combining in some degree the excellences of either, he possessed qualities in which both were utterly deficient; an indefatigable industry, a cool judgement, a command over others, a faculty of organization, a singular union of patience and moderation with an imperious ambition, which marked



JOHN WESLEY.
Picture by William Hamilton.

him as a ruler of men. He had besides a learning and skill in writing which no other of the Methodists possessed; he was older than any of his colleagues at the start of the movement, and he outlived them all. His life indeed almost covers the century, and the Methodist body had passed through every phase of its history before he sank into the grave at the age of eighty-eight. It would have been impossible for Wesley to have wielded the power he did

1703–1791

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had he not shared the follies and extravagance as well as the enthusiasm of his disciples. Throughout his life his asceticism was that of a monk. At times he lived on bread only, and he often slept on the bare boards. He lived in a world of wonders and divine interpositions. It was a miracle if the rain stopped and allowed him to set forward on a journey. It was a judgement of Heaven if a hailstorm burst over a town which had been deaf to his preaching. One day, he tells us, when he was tired and his horse fell lame, "I thought—cannot God heal either man or beast by any means or without any?—immediately my headache ceased and my horse's lameness in the same instant." With a still more childish fanaticism he guided his conduct, whether in ordinary events or in the great crises of his life, by drawing lots or watching the particular texts at which his Bible opened. But with all this extravagance and superstition, Wesley's mind was essentially practical, orderly, and conservative. No man ever stood at the head of a great revolution whose temper was so anti-revolutionary. In his earlier days the bishops had been forced to rebuke him for the narrowness and intolerance of his churchmanship. When Whitefield began his sermons in the fields, Wesley "could not at first reconcile himself to that strange way." He condemned and fought against the admission of laymen as preachers till he found himself left with none but laymen to preach. To the last he clung passionately to the Church of England, and looked on the body he had formed as but a lay society in full communion with it. He broke with the Moravians, who had been the earliest friends of the new movement, when they endangered its safe conduct by their contempt of religious forms. He broke with Whitefield when the great preacher plunged into an extravagant Calvinism. But the same practical temper of mind which led him to reject what was unmeasured, and to be the last to adopt what was new, enabled him at once to grasp and organize the novelties he adopted. He became himself the most unwearied of field preachers, and his journal for half a century is little more than a record of fresh journeys and fresh sermons. When once driven to employ lay helpers in his ministry he made their work a new and attractive feature in his system. His earlier asceticism only lingered in a dread of social enjoyments and an aversion from the gayer and sunnier

side of life which links the Methodist movement with that of the Puritans. As the fervour of his superstition died down into the calm of age, his cool common sense discouraged in his followers the enthusiastic outbursts which marked the opening of the revival. His powers were bent to the building up of a great religious society which might give to the new enthusiasm a lasting and practical form. The Methodists were grouped into classes, gathered in love-feasts, purified by the expulsion of unworthy members, and

SCHOOL.
Early Eighteenth Century.
After P. Mercier.

furnished with an alternation of settled ministers and wandering preachers; while the whole body was placed under the absolute government of a Conference of ministers. But so long as he lived, the direction of the new religious society remained with Wesley alone. "If by arbitrary power," he replied with charming simplicity to objectors, "you mean a power which I exercise simply without any colleagues therein, this is certainly true, but I see no hurt in it."

The great body which he thus founded numbered a hundred

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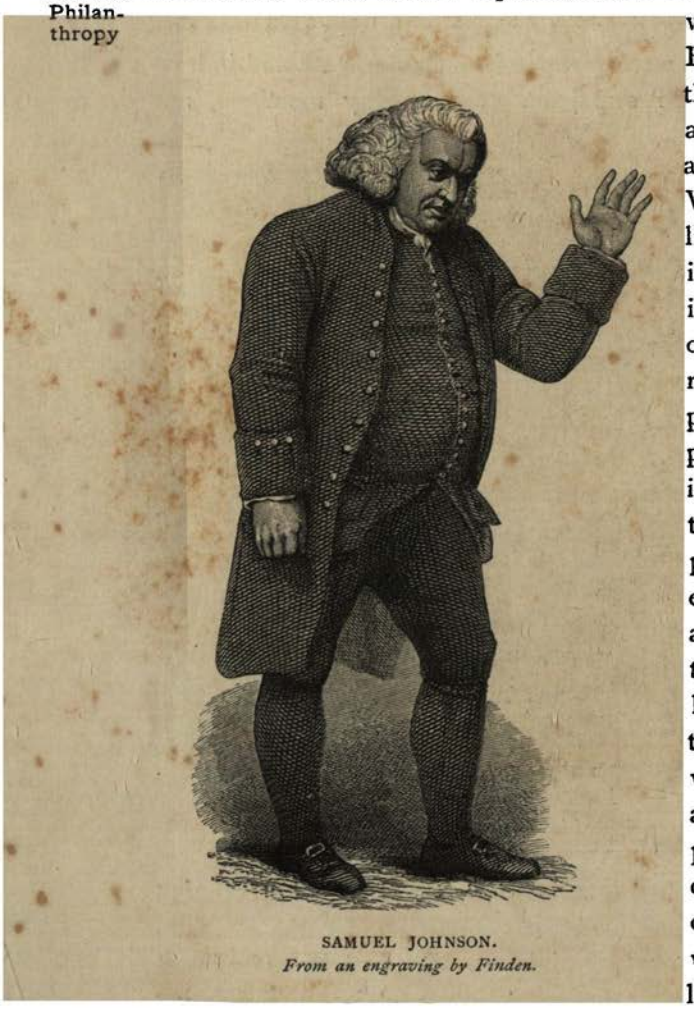
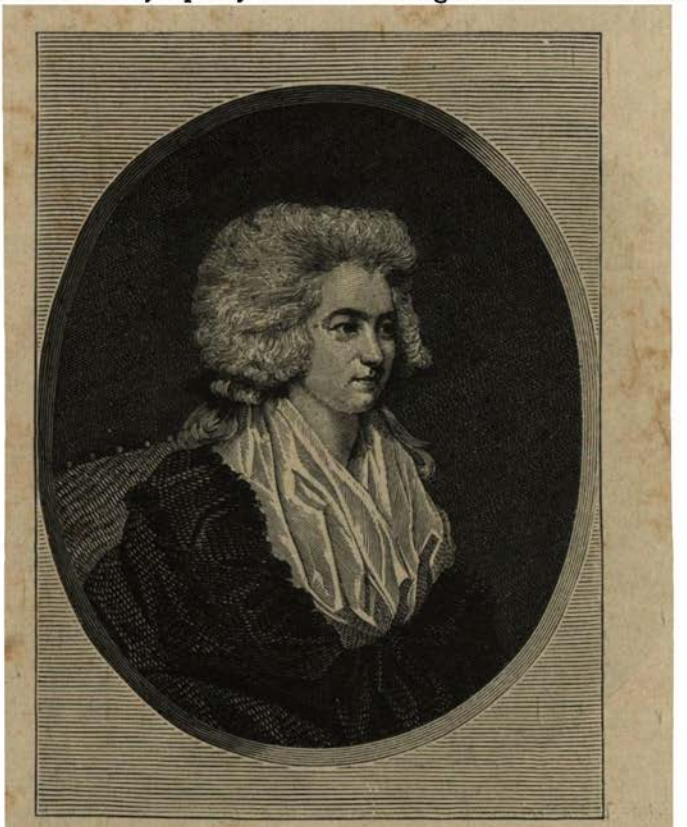
thousand members at his death, and now counts its members in England and America by millions. But the Methodists themselves were the least result of the Methodist revival. Its action upon the Church broke the lethargy of the clergy; and the "Evangelical" movement, which found representatives like Newton and Cecil within the pale of the Establishment, made the fox-hunting parson and the absentee rector at last impossible. In Walpole's day the English clergy were the idlest and most lifeless in the world. In our own time no body of religious ministers surpasses them in piety, in philanthropic energy, or in popular regard. In the nation at large appeared a new moral enthusiasm which, rigid and pedantic as it often seemed, was still healthy in its social tone, and whose power was seen in the disappearance of the profligacy which had disgraced the upper classes, and the foulness which had infested literature, ever since the Restoration. A yet nobler result of the religious revival was the steady attempt, which has never ceased from that day to this, to remedy the guilt, the ignorance, the physical suffering, the social degradation of the profligate and the poor. It was not till the Wesleyan impulse had done its work that this

The New Philanthropy



SAMUEL JOHNSON.
From an engraving by Finden.

philanthropic impulse began. The Sunday Schools established by Mr. Raikes of Gloucester at the close of the century were the beginnings of popular education. By writings and by her own personal example Hannah More drew the sympathy of England to the poverty and crime of the agricultural labourer. A passionate impulse of human sympathy with the wronged and afflicted raised



HANNAH MORE.
Picture by Opie, 1786.

hospitals, endowed charities, built churches, sent missionaries to the heathen, supported Burke in his plea for the Hindoo, and Clarkson and Wilberforce in their crusade against the iniquity of the slave-trade. It is only the moral chivalry of his labours that amongst a crowd of philanthropists draws us most, perhaps, to the work and character of John Howard. The sympathy which all were feeling for the sufferings of mankind he felt for the sufferings

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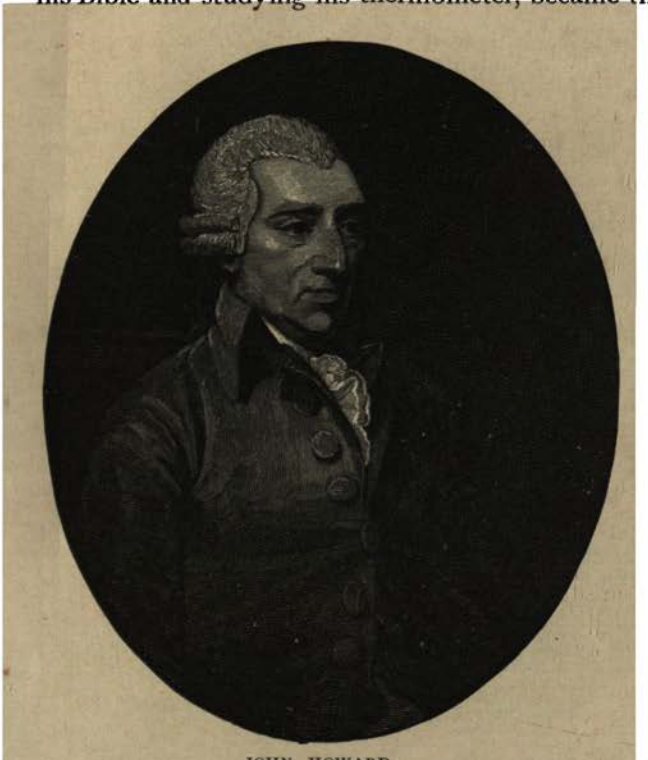
John Howard

of the worst and most hapless of men. With wonderful ardour and perseverance he devoted himself to the cause of the debtor, the felon, and the murderer. An appointment to the office of High Sheriff of Bedfordshire in 1774 drew his attention to the state of the prisons which were placed under his care; and from that time the quiet country gentleman, whose only occupation had been reading his Bible and studying his thermometer, became the most energetic and zealous of reformers. Before a year was over he had personally visited almost every English gaol, and he found in nearly all of them frightful abuses which had been noticed half a century before, but left unredressed by Parliament. Gaolers who bought their places were paid by fees, and suffered to extort what they could. Even when acquitted, men were dragged back to their cells for want of funds to discharge the sums they owed to their keepers. Debtors and felons were huddled together in the prisons which Howard found crowded by the cruel legislation of the day. No separation was preserved between different sexes, no criminal discipline enforced. Every gaol was a chaos of cruelty and the foulest immorality, from which the prisoner could only escape by sheer starvation, or through the gaol-fever that festered without



JOHN HOWARD.
Picture by Mather Brown, in National Portrait Gallery.

ceasing in these haunts of wretchedness. Howard saw everything with his own eyes, he tested every suffering by his own experience. In one gaol he found a cell so narrow and noisome that the poor wretch who inhabited it begged as a mercy for hanging. Howard shut himself up in the cell and bore its darkness and foulness till nature could bear no more. It was by work of this sort, and by the faithful pictures of such scenes which it enabled him to give, that he brought about their reform. The book in which he recorded his terrible experience, and the plans which he submitted for the reformation of criminals made him the father, so far as England is concerned, of prison discipline. But his labours were far from being confined to England. In journey after journey he visited the gaols of Holland and Germany, till his longing to discover some means of checking the fatal progress of the plague led him to examine the lazarettos of Europe and the East. He was still engaged in this work of charity when he was seized by a malignant fever at Cherson in Southern Russia, and "laid quietly in the earth," as he desired.

Carteret

While the revival of the Wesleys was stirring the very heart of England, its political stagnation was unbroken. The fall of Walpole made no change in English policy, at home or abroad. The bulk of his ministry, who had opposed him in his later years of office, resumed their posts, simply admitting some of the more prominent members of opposition, and giving the control of foreign affairs to Lord Carteret, a man of great power, and skilled in continental affairs. Carteret mainly followed the system of his predecessor. It was in the union of Austria and Prussia that he looked for the means of destroying the hold France had now established in Germany by the election of her puppet, Charles of Bavaria, as Emperor; and the pressure of England, aided by a victory of Frederick at Chotusitz, forced Maria Theresa to consent to Walpole's plan of a peace with Prussia at Breslau on the terms of the cession of Silesia. The peace enabled the Austrian army to drive the French from Bohemia at the close of 1742; an English fleet blockaded Cadiz, and another anchored in the bay of Naples and forced Don Carlos by a threat of bombarding his capital to conclude a treaty of neutrality, while English subsidies detached Sardinia from the French alliance. Unfortunately Carteret and the

England and Austria

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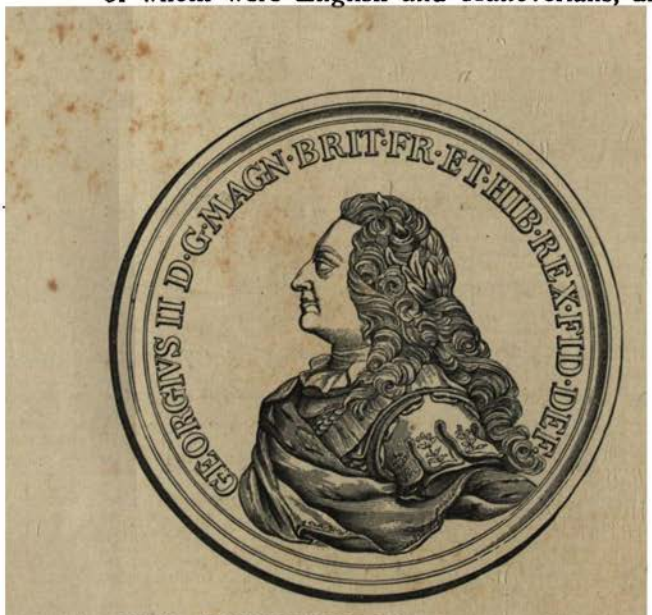
Court of Vienna now determined not only to set up the Pragmatic Sanction, but to undo the French encroachments of 1736. Naples and Sicily were to be taken back from their Spanish King, Elsass and Lorraine from France; and the imperial dignity was to be restored to the Austrian House. To carry out these schemes an Austrian army drove the Emperor from Bavaria in the spring of 1743; while George the Second, who warmly supported Carteret's policy, put himself at the head of a force of 40,000 men, the bulk of whom were English and Hanoverians, and marched from the Netherlands to the Main. His advance was checked and finally turned into a retreat by the Duc de Noailles, who appeared with a superior army on the south bank of the river, and finally throwing 31,000 men across it, threatened to compel the King to surrender. In the battle of Dettingen which followed, however, not only was the allied army saved from destruction by the impetuosity of the French horse and the dogged obstinacy with which the English held their ground, but their opponents were forced to recross the Main. Small as was the victory, it produced amazing results. The French evacuated Germany. The English and Austrian armies appeared on the Rhine; and a league between England, Prussia, and the Queen of Hungary, seemed all that was needed to secure the results already gained.



MEDAL COMMEMORATING BATTLE OF DETTINGEN.
(Obverse.)

Dettingen June 27, 1743

Fontenoy

But the prospect of peace was overthrown by the ambition of the House of Austria. In the spring of 1744 an Austrian army

marched upon Naples, with the purpose of transferring it after its conquest to the Bavarian Emperor, whose hereditary dominions in Bavaria were to pass in return to Maria Theresa. If however Frederick had withdrawn from the war on the cession of Silesia, he was resolute to take up arms again rather than suffer so great an aggrandisement of the House of Austria in Germany. His sudden alliance with France failed at first to change the course of the war; for though he was successful in seizing Prague and drawing the Austrian army from the Rhine, Frederick was driven from Bohemia, while the death of the Emperor forced Bavaria to lay down its arms and to ally itself with Maria Theresa. So high were the Queen's hopes at this moment that she formed a secret alliance with Russia for the division of the Prussian monarchy. But in 1745 the tide turned, and the fatal results of Carteret's weakness in assenting to the change from a war of defence into one of attack became manifest. The French King, Lewis the Fifteenth, led an army into the Netherlands; and the refusal of Holland to act against him left their defence wholly in the hands of England. The general anger at this widening of the war proved fatal to Carteret, or, as he now became, Earl Granville. His imperious temper had rendered him odious to his colleagues, and he was driven from office by the Duke of Newcastle and his brother Henry Pelham. Of the reconstituted ministry which followed Henry Pelham became the head. His temper, as well as

MEDAL COMMEMORATING BATTLE OF DETTINGEN.
(Reverse.)

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a consciousness of his own mediocrity, disposed him to a policy of conciliation which reunited the Whigs. Chesterfield and the Whigs in opposition, with Pitt and "the Boys," all found room in the new administration; and even a few Tories found admittance. The bulk of the Whigs were true to Walpole's policy; and it was to pave the way to an accommodation with Frederick and a close of the war that the Pelhams forced Carteret to resign. But their attention had first to be given to the war in Flanders, where Marshal Saxe had established the superiority of the French army by his defeat of the Duke of Cumberland. Advancing to the relief of Tournay with a force of English, Hanoverians, and Dutch—for Holland had at last been dragged into the war—the Duke on the 31st of May 1745 found the French covered by a line of fortified villages and redoubts with but a single narrow gap near the hamlet of Fontenoy. Into this gap, however, the English troops, formed in a dense column, doggedly thrust themselves in spite of a terrible fire; but at the moment when the day seemed won the French guns, rapidly concentrated in their front, tore the column in pieces and drove it back in a slow and orderly retreat. The blow was quickly followed up in June by a victory of Frederick at Hohenfriedburg which drove the Austrians from Silesia, and by a landing of a Stuart on the coast of Scotland at the close of July.

The Pelham Ministry 1745

Charles Edward Stuart

The war with France had at once revived the hopes of the Jacobites; and as early as 1744 Charles Edward, the grandson of James the Second, was placed by the French Government at the head of a formidable armament. But his plan of a descent on Scotland was defeated by a storm which wrecked his fleet, and by the march of the French troops which had sailed in it to the war in Flanders. In 1745, however, the young adventurer again embarked with but seven friends in a small vessel and landed on a little island of the Hebrides. For three weeks he stood almost alone; but on the 29th of August the clans rallied to his standard in Glenfinnan, and Charles found himself at the head of fifteen hundred men. His force swelled to an army as he marched through Blair Athol on Perth, entered Edinburgh in triumph, and proclaimed "James the Eighth" at the Town Cross: and two thousand English troops who marched against him under Sir John Cope were broken and cut to pieces on the 21st of September by a

Preston Pans 1745

single charge of the clansmen at Preston Pans. Victory at once doubled the forces of the conqueror. The Prince was now at the head of six thousand men; but all were still Highlanders, for the people of the Lowlands held aloof from his standard, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he could induce them to follow him to the south. His tact and energy however at last conquered every obstacle, and after skilfully evading an army gathered at Newcastle he marched through Lancashire, and pushed on the 4th of December as far as Derby. But here all hope of success came to an end. Hardly a man had risen in his support as he passed through the districts where Jacobitism boasted of its strength. The people flocked to see his march as if to see a show. Catholics and Tories abounded in Lancashire, but only a single squire took up arms. Manchester was looked on as the most Jacobite of English towns, but all the aid it gave was an illumination and two thousand pounds. From Carlisle to Derby he had been joined by hardly two hundred men. The policy of Walpole had in fact secured England for the House of Hanover. The long peace, the prosperity of the country, and the clemency of the Government, had done their work. The recent admission of Tories into the administration had severed the Tory party finally from the mere Jacobites. Jacobitism as a fighting force was dead, and even Charles Edward saw that it was hopeless to conquer England with five thousand Highlanders. He soon learned too that forces of double his own strength were closing on either side of him, while a third army under the King and Lord Stair covered London. Scotland itself, now that the Highlanders were away, quietly

PIPER IN HIGHLAND REGIMENT.
Grose, "Military Antiquities."

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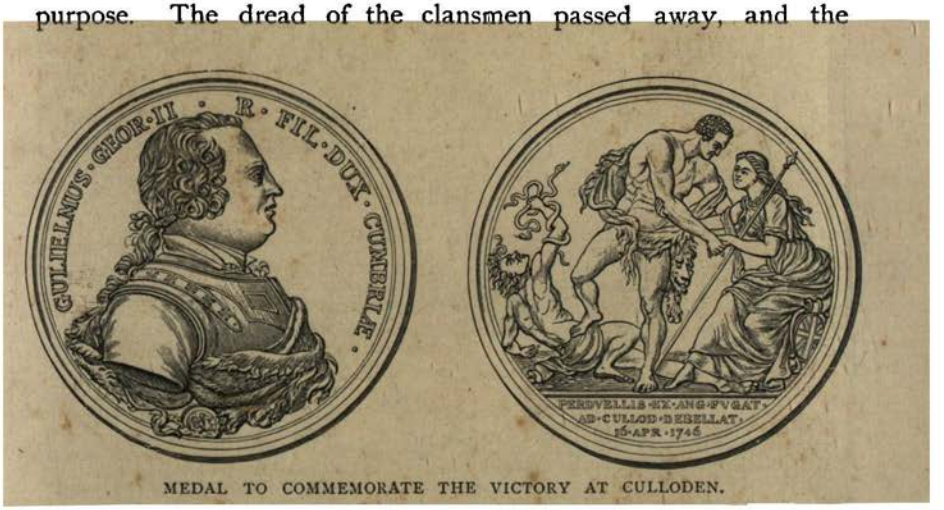
renewed in all the districts of the Lowlands its allegiance to the House of Hanover. Even in the Highlands the Macleods rose in arms for King George, while the Gordons refused to stir, though roused by a small French force which landed at Montrose. To advance further south was impossible, and Charles fell rapidly back on Glasgow; but the reinforcements which he found there raised his army to nine thousand men, and on the 23rd January, 1746, he boldly attacked an English army under General Hawley which had followed his retreat and had encamped near Falkirk. Again the wild charge of his Highlanders won victory for the Prince, but victory was as fatal as defeat. The bulk of his forces dispersed with their booty to the mountains, and Charles fell sullenly back to the north before the Duke of Cumberland. On the 16th of April the armies faced one another on Culloden Moor, a few miles eastward of Inverness. The Highlanders still numbered six thousand men, but they were starving and dispirited, while Cumberland's force was nearly double that of the Prince. Torn by the Duke's guns, the clansmen flung themselves in their old fashion on the English front; but they were received with a terrible fire of musketry, and the few that broke through the

SOLDIERS IN HIGHLAND REGIMENT.
Grose, "Military Antiquities."

Culloden Moor

Conquest of the Highlands

first line found themselves fronted by a second. In a few moments all was over, and the Stuart force was a mass of hunted fugitives. Charles himself after strange adventures escaped to France. In England fifty of his followers were hanged; three Scotch lords, Lovat, Balmerino, and Kilmarnock, brought to the block; and forty persons of rank attainted by Act of Parliament. More extensive measures of repression were needful in the Highlands. The feudal tenures were abolished. The hereditary jurisdictions of the chiefs were bought up and transferred to the Crown. The tartan, or garb of the Highlanders, was forbidden by law. These measures, followed by a general Act of Indemnity, proved effective for their purpose. The dread of the clansmen passed away, and the



MEDAL TO COMMEMORATE THE VICTORY AT CULLODEN.

Sheriff's writ soon ran through the Highlands with as little resistance as in the streets of Edinburgh.

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle

Defeat abroad and danger at home only quickened the resolve of the Pelhams to bring the war with Prussia to an end. When England was threatened by a Catholic Pretender, it was no time for weakening the chief Protestant power in Germany. On the refusal of Maria Theresa to join in a general peace, England concluded the Convention of Hanover with Prussia, and withdrew so far as Germany was concerned from the war. Elsewhere however the contest lingered on. The victories of Maria Theresa in Italy were balanced by those of France in the Netherlands, where Marshal Saxe inflicted new defeats on the English and

1745

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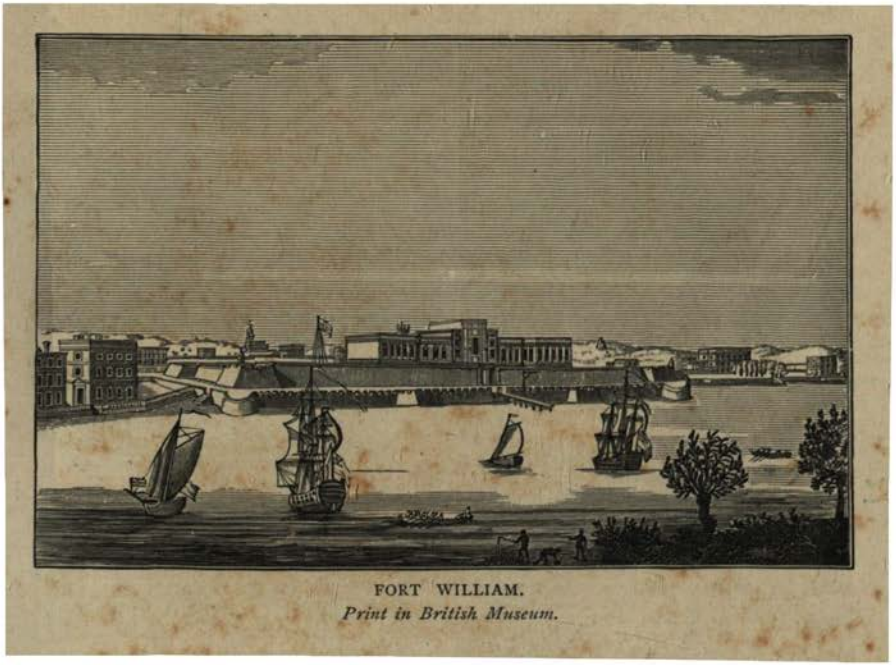
Dutch at Roucoux and Lauffeld. The danger of Holland and the financial exhaustion of France at last brought about the conclusion of a peace at Aix-la-Chapelle, by which England surrendered its gains at sea, and France its conquests on land. But the peace was a mere pause in the struggle, during which both parties hoped to gain strength for a mightier contest which they saw impending. The war was in fact widening far beyond the bounds of Germany or of Europe. It was becoming a world-wide duel which was to settle the destinies of mankind. Already France was claiming



FORT WILLIAM.
Print in British Museum.

the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi, and mooting the great question whether the fortunes of the New World were to be moulded by Frenchmen or Englishmen. Already too French adventurers were driving English merchants from Madras, and building up, as they trusted, a power which was to add India to the dominions of France.

Clive

The early intercourse of England with India gave little promise of the great fortunes which awaited it. It was not till the close of Elizabeth's reign, a century after Vasco da Gama had crept round the Cape of Good Hope and founded the Portuguese

settlement on the Goa coast, that an East India Company was established in London. The trade, profitable as it was, remained small in extent; and the three early factories of the Company were only gradually acquired during the century which followed. The first, that of Madras, consisted of but six fishermen's houses beneath Fort St. George; that of Bombay was ceded by the Portuguese as part of the dowry of Catharine of Braganza; while Fort William, with the mean village which has since grown into Calcutta, owes its origin to the reign of William the Third. Each of these forts was built simply for the protection of the Company's warehouses, and guarded by a few "sepahis," sepoys, or paid native soldiers; while the clerks and traders of each establishment were under the direction of a President and a Council. One of these clerks in the middle of the eighteenth century was Robert Clive, the son of a small proprietor near Market Drayton in Shropshire, an idle dare-devil of a boy whom his friends had been glad to get rid of by packing him off in the Company's service as a writer to Madras. His early days there were days of wretchedness and despair. He was poor and cut off from his fellows by the haughty shyness of his temper, weary of desk-work, and haunted by home-sickness. Twice he attempted suicide; and it was only on the failure of his second attempt that he flung down the pistol which baffled him with a conviction that he was reserved for higher things.

Dupleix

A change came at last in the shape of war and captivity. As soon as the war of the Austrian Succession broke out, the superiority of the French in power and influence tempted them to expel the English from India. Labourdonnais, the governor of the French colony of the Mauritius, besieged Madras, razed it to the ground, and carried its clerks and merchants prisoners to Pondicherry. Clive was among these captives, but he escaped in disguise, and returning to the settlement, threw aside his clerkship for an ensign's commission in the force which the Company was busily raising. For the capture of Madras had not only established the repute of the French arms, but had roused Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry, to conceive plans for the creation of a French empire in India. When the English merchants of Elizabeth's day brought their goods to Surat, all

1746

THE MOGUL EMPERORS.
Miniature at Windsor Castle.

India, save the south, had just been brought for the first time under the rule of a single great power by the Mogul Emperors of the line of Akbar. But with the death of Aurungzebe, in the reign of Anne, the Mogul Empire fell fast into decay. A line of feudal princes raised themselves to independence in Rajpootana. The lieutenants of the Emperor founded separate sovereignties at Lucknow and Hyderabad, in the Carnatic, and in Bengal. The plain of the Upper Indus was occupied by a race of religious fanatics called the Sikhs. Persian and Affghan invaders crossed the Indus, and succeeded even in sacking Delhi, the capital of the Moguls. Clans of systematic plunderers, who were known under the name of Mahrattas, and who were in fact the natives whom conquest had long held in subjection, poured down from the highlands along the western coast, ravaged as far as Calcutta and Tanjore, and finally set up independent states at Poonah and Gwalior. Dupleix skilfully availed himself of the disorder around him. He offered his aid to the Emperor against the rebels and invaders who had reduced his power to a shadow; and it was in the Emperor's name that he meddled with the quarrels of the states of Central and Southern India, made himself virtually master of the Court of Hyderabad, and seated a creature of his own on the throne of the Carnatic. Trichinopoly, the one town which held out against this Nabob of the Carnatic, was all but brought to surrender when Clive, in 1751, came forward with a daring scheme for its relief. With a few hundred English and sepoys he pushed through a thunderstorm to the surprise of Arcot, *Arcot* the Nabob's capital, entrenched himself in its enormous fort, and held it for fifty days against thousands of assailants. Moved by his gallantry, the Mahrattas, who had never believed that Englishmen would fight before, advanced and broke up the siege; but Clive was no sooner freed than he showed equal vigour in the field. At the head of raw recruits who ran away at the first sound of a gun, and sepoys who hid themselves as soon as the cannon opened fire, he twice attacked and defeated the French and their Indian allies, foiled every effort of Dupleix, and razed to the ground a pompous pillar which the French governor had set up in honour of his earlier victories.

Clive was recalled by broken health to England, and the

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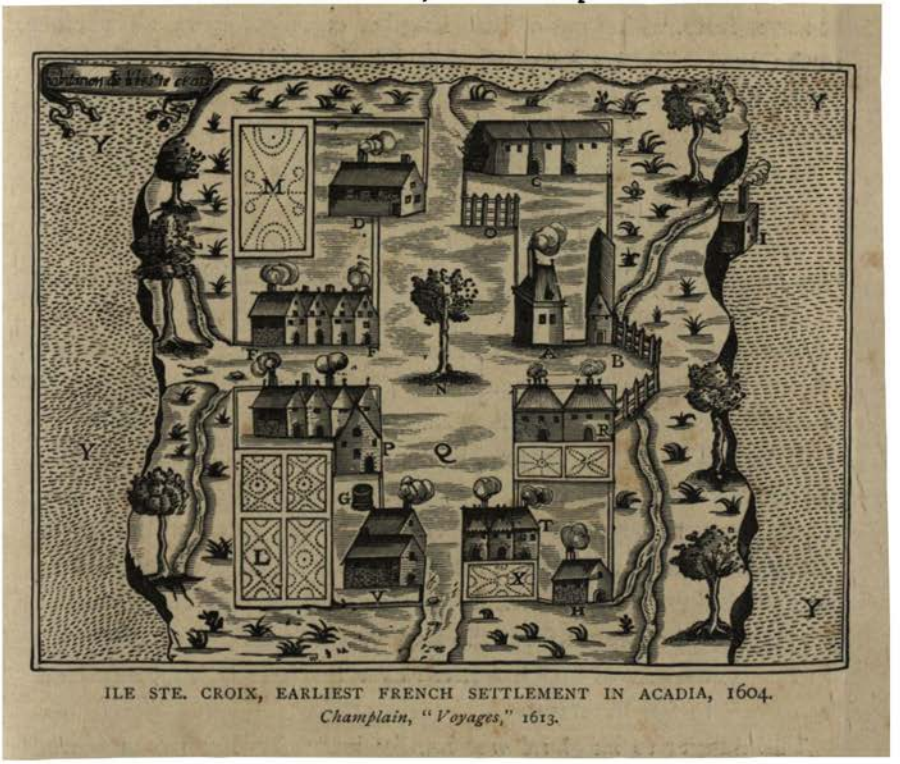
The American Colonies

fortunes of the struggle in India were left for decision to a later day. But while France was struggling for the Empire of the East she was striving with even more apparent success for the command of the new world of the West. Populous as they had become, the English settlements in America still lay mainly along the sea-board of the Atlantic; for only a few exploring parties had penetrated into the Alleghanies before the Seven Years' War; and Indian tribes wandered unquestioned along the lakes. It was not till the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle that the pretensions of France drew the eyes of the colonists and of English statesmen to the interior of the Western Continent. Planted firmly in Louisiana and Canada, France openly claimed the whole country west of the Alleghanies as its own, and its governors now ordered all English settlers or merchants to be driven from the valleys of Ohio or Mississippi which were still in the hands of Indian tribes. Even the inactive Pelham revolted from pretensions such as these. The original French settlers were driven from Acadia or Nova

A FRENCH CANADIAN.
Bacqueville de la Potherie, "Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale,' 1722.

1748

Scotia, and an English colony founded the settlement of Halifax. An Ohio Company was formed, and its agents made their way to the valleys of that river and the Kentucky; while envoys from Virginia and Pennsylvania drew closer the alliance between their colonies and the Indian tribes across the mountains. Nor were the French slow to accept the challenge. Fighting began in Acadia. A vessel of war appeared in Ontario, and Niagara was turned into a fort. A force of 1,200 men despatched to Erie drove



ILE STE. CROIX, EARLIEST FRENCH SETTLEMENT IN ACADIA, 1604.
Champlain, "*Voyages*," 1613.

the few English settlers from their little colony on the fork of the Ohio, and founded there a fort called Duquesne, on the site of the later Pittsburg. The fort at once gave this force command of the river valley. After a fruitless attack on it under George Washington, a young Virginian, the colonists were forced to withdraw over the mountains, and the whole of the west was left in the hands of France. The bulk of the Indian tribes from Canada as far as the Mississippi attached themselves to the French cause, and the value of their aid was shown in 1755, when General

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WILLIAM PITT
1742 TO 1762

Rout of Braddock

Braddock led a force of English soldiers and American militia to an attack upon Fort Duquesne. The force was utterly routed and Braddock slain. The Marquis of Montcalm, who in 1756 commanded the French forces in Canada, was gifted with singular powers of administration. He carried out with even more zeal than his predecessor the plans of annexation; and the three forts of Duquesne on the Ohio, of Niagara on the St. Lawrence, and of Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, were linked together by a chain of lesser forts, which cut off the English colonists from all access to the west. The defeat of Braddock had already roused England to its danger, for it was certain that war in America would be followed by war in Europe. The ministers looked on a league with Prussia as the only means of checking France; but Frederick held cautiously aloof, while the advances of England to Prussia only served to alienate Maria Theresa, whose one desire was to regain Silesia. The two powers of the House of Bourbon were still bound by the Family Compact; and as early as 1752 Maria Theresa by a startling change of policy drew to their alliance. The jealousy which Russia entertained of the growth of a strong power in North Germany brought the Czarina Elizabeth to promise aid to the schemes of the Queen of Hungary; and in 1755 the league of the four powers and of Saxony was practically completed. So secret were these negotiations that they remained unknown to Henry Pelham and to his brother the Duke of Newcastle, who succeeded him on his death in 1754 as the head of the Ministry. But they were detected from the first by the keen eye of Frederick of Prussia, who saw himself fronted by a line of foes that stretched from Paris to St. Petersburg.

The Seven Years' War

The danger to England was hardly less; for France appeared again on the stage with a vigour and audacity which recalled the days of Lewis the Fourteenth. The weakness and corruption of the French government were screened for a time by the daring and scope of its plans, as by the ability of the agents it found to carry them out. In England, on the contrary, all was vagueness and indecision. It was not till the close of the year that a treaty was at last concluded with the Prussian King. With this treaty between England and Frederick began the Seven Years' War. No war has had greater results on the history of the world or brought

1755

greater triumphs to England; but few have had more disastrous beginnings. Newcastle was too weak and ignorant to rule without aid, and yet too greedy of power to purchase aid by sharing it with more capable men. His preparations for the gigantic struggle before him may be guessed from the fact that there were but three regiments fit for service in England at the opening of 1756. France, on the other hand, was quick in her attack. Port Mahon in Minorca, the key of the Mediterranean, was besieged by the

FREDERICK II., KING OF PRUSSIA AND ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG.
From an engraving in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Duke of Richelieu and forced to capitulate. To complete the shame of England, a fleet sent to its relief under Admiral Byng retreated before the French. In Germany Frederick seized Dresden at the outset of the war and forced the Saxon army to surrender, and in 1757 a victory at Prague made him master for a while of Bohemia; but his success was transient, and a defeat at Kolin drove him to retreat again into Saxony. In the same year the Duke of Cumberland, who had taken post on the Weser with an army of fifty thousand men for the defence of Hanover, fell

GREENWICH HOSPITAL.

back before a French army to the mouth of the Elbe, and engaged by the Convention of Closter-Seven to disband his forces. In America things went even worse than in Germany. The inactivity of the English generals was contrasted with the genius and activity of Montcalm. Already masters of the Ohio by the defeat of Braddock, the French drove the English garrison from the forts which commanded Lake Ontario and Lake Champlain, and their empire stretched without a break over the vast territory from Louisiana to the St. Lawrence. A despondency without parallel in our history took possession of our coolest statesmen, and even the impassive Chesterfield cried in despair, "We are no longer a nation." 1756

William Pitt

But the nation of which Chesterfield despaired was really on the eve of its greatest triumphs, and the miserable incapacity of the Duke of Newcastle only called to the front the genius of William Pitt. Pitt was the grandson of a wealthy governor of Madras, who had entered Parliament in 1735 as member for one of his father's pocket boroughs, and had headed the younger "patriots" in their attack on Walpole. The dismissal from the army by which Walpole met his attacks turned his energy wholly to politics. His fiery spirit was hushed in office during the "broad-bottom administration" which followed Walpole's fall, but after the death of Henry Pelham, Newcastle's jealousy of power threw him into an attitude of opposition and he was deprived of his place. When the disasters of the war however drove Newcastle from office in November 1756, Pitt became Secretary of State: but in four months the enmity of the King and of Newcastle's party drove him to resign. In July 1757, however, it was necessary to recall him. The failure of Newcastle to construct an administration forced the Duke to a junction with his rival; and fortunately for their country, the character of the two statesmen made the compromise an easy one. For all that Pitt coveted, for the general direction of public affairs, the control of foreign policy, the administration of the war, Newcastle had neither capacity nor inclination. On the other hand, his skill in parliamentary management was unrivalled. If he knew little else, he knew better than any living man the price of every member and the intrigues of every borough. What he cared for was not the control of affairs, but the distribution of patronage and the work of corruption, and from this Pitt

Newcastle and Pitt

An Election Entertainment Plate I
To the Right Honorable Henry Fox &c &c &c - This Plate is humbly Inscribed by his most Obedient Humble Servt Wm Hogarth

AN ELECTION ENTERTAINMENT, 1755.
Picture by W. Hogarth.

turned disdainfully away. "Mr. Pitt does everything," wrote Horace Walpole, "and the Duke gives everything. So long as they

WILLIAM PITT, PAYMASTER OF THE FORCES.
Picture by Hoare.

agree in this partition they may do what they please." Out of the union of these two strangely-contrasted leaders, in fact, rose the greatest, as it was the last, of the purely Whig administrations. But

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its real power lay from beginning to end in Pitt himself. Poor as he was, for his income was little more than two hundred a year, and springing as he did from a family of no political importance, it was by sheer dint of genius that the young cornet of horse, at whose youth and inexperience Walpole had sneered, seized a power which the Whig houses had ever since the Revolution kept jealously in their grasp. His ambition had no petty aim. "I want to call England," he said as he took office, "out of that enervate state in which twenty thousand men from France can shake her." His call was soon answered. He at once breathed his own lofty spirit into the country he served, as he communicated something of his own grandeur to the men who served him. "No man," said a soldier of the time, "ever entered Mr. Pitt's closet who did not feel himself braver when he came out than when he went in." Ill-combined as were his earlier expeditions, many as were his failures, he roused a temper in the nation at large which made ultimate defeat impossible. "England has been a long time in labour," exclaimed Frederick of Prussia as he recognized a greatness like his own, "but she has at last brought forth a man."

Pitt and the Age

It is this personal and solitary grandeur which strikes us most as we look back to William Pitt. The tone of his speech and action stands out in utter contrast with the tone of his time. In the midst of a society critical, polite, indifferent, simple even to the affectation of simplicity, witty and amusing but absolutely prosaic, cool of heart and of head, sceptical of virtue and enthusiasm, sceptical above all of itself, Pitt stood absolutely alone. The depth of his conviction, his passionate love for all that he deemed lofty and true, his fiery energy, his poetic imaginativeness, his theatrical airs and rhetoric, his haughty self-assumption, his pompousness and extravagance, were not more puzzling to his contemporaries than the confidence with which he appealed to the higher sentiments of mankind, the scorn with which he turned from a corruption which had till then been the great engine of politics, the undoubting faith which he felt in himself, in the grandeur of his aims, and in his power to carry them out. "I know that I can save the country," he said to the Duke of Devonshire on his entry into the Ministry, "and I know no other man can." The groundwork of Pitt's character was an intense and passionate pride; but it was a pride

His public spirit

SWORD-BEARER OF LONDON.
Map, 1726.

which kept him from stooping to the level of the men who had so long held England in their hands. He was the first statesman since the Restoration who set the example of a purely public spirit. Keen as was his love of power, no man ever refused office so often, or accepted it with so strict a regard to the principles he professed. "I will not go to Court," he replied to an offer which was made him, "if I may not bring the constitution with me." For the corruption about him he had nothing but disdain. He left to Newcastle the buying of seats and the purchase of members. At the outset of his career Pelham appointed him to the most lucrative office in his administration, that of Paymaster of the Forces; but its profits were of an illicit kind, and poor as he was Pitt refused to accept one farthing beyond his salary. His pride never appeared in loftier and nobler form than in his attitude towards the people at large. No leader had ever a wider popularity than "the great commoner," as Pitt was styled, but his air was always that of a man who commands popularity, not that of one who seeks it. He never bent to flatter popular prejudice. When mobs were roaring themselves hoarse for "Wilkes and liberty," he denounced Wilkes as a worthless profligate; and when all England went mad in its hatred of the Scots Pitt haughtily declared his esteem for a people whose courage he had been the first to enlist on the side of loyalty. His noble figure,

MACE-BEARER OF LONDON.
Map, 1726.

MARDOL STREET, SHREWSBURY.

Owen and Blakeway, "History of Shrewsbury."

the hawk-like eye which flashed from the small thin face, his majestic voice, the fire and grandeur of his eloquence gave him a sway over the House of Commons far greater than any other minister nas possessed. He could silence an opponent with a look of scorn, or hush the whole House with a single word. But he never stooped to the arts by which men form a political party, and at the height of his power his personal following hardly numbered half a dozen members.

The Great Commoner

His real strength indeed lay not in Parliament but in the people at large. His significant title of "the great commoner" marks a

TOWN-HALL, CARLISLE, IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.
Nutter, "Carlisle in the Olden Time."

political revolution. "It is the people who have sent me here," Pitt boasted with a haughty pride when the nobles of the Cabinet opposed his will. He was the first to see that the long political inactivity of the public mind had ceased, and that the progress of commerce and industry had produced a great middle class, which no longer found its representatives in the legislature. "You have taught me," said George the Second when Pitt sought to save Byng by appealing to the sentiment of Parliament, "to look for the voice

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of my people in other places than within the House of Commons." It was this unrepresented class which had forced him into power. During his struggle with Newcastle the greater towns backed him with the gift of their freedom and addresses of confidence. "For weeks," laughs Horace Walpole, "it rained gold boxes." London stood by him through good report and evil report, and the wealthiest of English merchants, Alderman Beckford, was proud to figure as his political lieutenant. The temper of Pitt indeed harmonized admirably with the temper of the commercial England which rallied round him, with its energy, its self-confidence, its pride, its patriotism, its honesty, its moral earnestness. The merchant and the trader were drawn by a natural attraction to the one statesman of their time whose aims were unselfish, whose hands were clean, whose life was pure and full of tender affection for wife and child. But there was a far deeper ground for their enthusiastic reverence and for the reverence which his country has borne Pitt ever since. He loved England with an intense and personal love. He believed in her power, her glory, her public virtue, till England learned to believe in herself. Her triumphs were his triumphs, her defeats his defeats. Her dangers lifted him high above all thought of self or party-spirit. "Be one people," he cried to the factions who rose to bring about his fall: "forget everything but the public! I set you the example!" His glowing patriotism was the real spell by which he held England. But even the faults which chequered his character told for him with the middle classes. The Whig statesmen who preceded him had been men whose pride expressed itself in a marked simplicity and absence of pretence. Pitt was essentially an actor, dramatic in the cabinet, in the House, in his very office. He transacted business with his clerks in full dress. His letters to his family, genuine as his love for them was, are stilted and unnatural in tone. It was easy for the wits of his day to jest at his affectation, his pompous gait, the dramatic appearance which he made on great debates with his limbs swathed in flannel and his crutch by his side. Early in life Walpole sneered at him for bringing into the House of Commons "the gestures and emotions of the stage." But the classes to whom Pitt appealed were classes not easily offended by faults of taste, and saw nothing to laugh at in the statesman who was borne into the lobby amidst

His popularity

the tortures of the gout, or carried into the House of Lords to breathe his last in a protest against national dishonour.

Above all Pitt wielded the strength of a resistless eloquence. The power of political speech had been revealed in the stormy

WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM.
Portrait by Richard Brompton, in possession of Earl Stanhope, at Chevening.

debates of the Long Parliament, but it was cramped in its utterance by the legal and theological pedantry of the time. Pedantry was flung off by the age of the Revolution, but in the eloquence of Somers and his rivals we see ability rather than genius, knowledge, clearness of expression, precision of thought, the lucidity

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of the pleader or the man of business, rather than the passion of the orator. Of this clearness of statement Pitt had little or none. He was no ready debater like Walpole, no speaker of set speeches like Chesterfield. His set speeches were always his worst, for in these his want of taste, his love of effect, his trite quotations and extravagant metaphors came at once to the front. That with defects like these he stood far above every orator of his time was due above all to his profound conviction, to the earnestness and sincerity with which he spoke. "I must sit still," he whispered once to a friend, "for when once I am up everything that is in my mind comes out." But the reality of his eloquence was transfigured by a large and poetic imagination, and by a glow of passion which not only raised him high above the men of his own day but set him in the front rank among the orators of the world. The cool reasoning, the wit, the common sense of his age made way for a splendid audacity, a sympathy with popular emotion, a sustained grandeur, a lofty vehemence, a command over the whole range of human feeling. He passed without an effort from the most solemn appeal to the gayest raillery, from the keenest sarcasm to the tenderest pathos. Every word was driven home by the grand self-consciousness of the speaker. He spoke always as one having authority. He was in fact the first English orator whose words were a power, a power not over Parliament only but over the nation at large. Parliamentary reporting was as yet unknown, and it was only in detached phrases and half-remembered outbursts that the voice of Pitt reached beyond the walls of St. Stephen's. But it was especially in these sudden outbursts of inspiration, in these brief passionate appeals, that the power of his eloquence lay. The few broken words we have of him stir the same thrill in men of our day which they stirred in the men of his own. But passionate as was Pitt's eloquence, it was the eloquence of a statesman, not of a rhetorician. Time has approved almost all his greater struggles, his defence of the liberty of the subject against arbitrary imprisonment under "general warrants," of the liberty of the press against Lord Mansfield, of the rights of constituencies against the House of Commons, of the constitutional rights of America against England itself. His foreign policy was directed to the preservation of Prussia, and Prussia has vindicated his foresight by the creation of

His statesmanship

Germany. We have adopted his plans for the direct government of India by the Crown, which when he proposed them were regarded as insane. Pitt was the first to recognize the liberal character of the Church of England. He was the first to sound the note of Parliamentary reform. One of his earliest measures shows the generosity and originality of his mind. He quieted Scotland by employing its Jacobites in the service of their country, and by raising Highland regiments among its clans. The selection of Wolfe and Amherst as generals showed his contempt for precedent and his inborn knowledge of men.

Plassey

But it was fortune rather than his genius which showered on Pitt the triumphs which signalized the opening of his ministry. In the East the daring of a merchant's clerk made a company of English traders the sovereigns of Bengal, and opened that wondrous career of conquest which has added the Indian peninsula, from Ceylon to the Himalayas, to the dominion of the British crown. Recalled by broken health to England, Clive returned at the outbreak of the Seven Years' War to win for England a greater prize than that which his victories had won for it in the supremacy of the Carnatic. He had been only a few months at Madras when a crime whose horror still lingers in English memories called him to Bengal. Bengal, the delta of the Ganges, was the richest and most fertile of all the provinces of India. Its rice, its sugar, its silk, and the produce of its looms, were famous in European markets. Its viceroys, like their fellow lieutenants, had become practically independent of the Emperor, and had added to Bengal the provinces of Orissa and Behar. Surajah Dowlah, the master

SURAJAH DOWLAH.
Miniature in India Museum.

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Black Hole of Calcutta

of this vast domain, had long been jealous of the enterprise and wealth of the English traders; and, roused at this moment by the instigation of the French, he appeared before Fort William, seized its settlers, and thrust a hundred and fifty of them into a small prison called the Black Hole of Calcutta. The heat of an Indian summer did its work of death. The wretched prisoners trampled each other under foot in the madness of thirst, and in the morning only twenty-three remained alive. Clive sailed at the news with a thousand Englishmen and two thousand sepoys to wreak vengeance for the crime. He was no longer the boy-soldier of Arcot; and the tact and skill with which he met Surajah Dowlah in the negotiations by which the Viceroy strove to avert a conflict were sullied by the Oriental falsehood and treachery to which he stooped.

MEDAL COMMEMORATING BATTLE OF PLASSEY.

But his courage remained unbroken. When the two armies faced each other on the plain of Plassey the odds were so great that on the very eve of the battle a council of war counselled retreat. Clive withdrew to a grove hard by, and after an hour's lonely musing gave the word to fight. Courage, in fact, was all that was needed. The fifty thousand foot and fourteen thousand horse who were seen covering the plain at daybreak on the 23rd of June, 1757, were soon thrown into confusion by the English guns, and broke in headlong rout before the English charge. The death of Surajah Dowlah enabled the Company to place a creature of its own on the throne of Bengal; but his rule soon became a nominal one. With the victory of Plassey began in fact the Empire of England in the East.

Pitt and Frederick

The year of Plassey was the year of a victory hardly less important in the West. There was little indeed in the military expeditions which marked the opening of Pitt's ministry to justify the trust of his country; for money and blood were lavished on buccaneering descents upon the French coasts which did small damage to the enemy. But incidents such as these had little weight in the minister's general policy. His greatness lies in the fact that he recognized the genius of Frederick the Great, and resolved to give him an energetic support. On his entry into office he refused to ratify the Convention of Closter-Seven, which had reduced Frederick to despair by throwing open his realm to a French advance; protected his flank by gathering an English and Hanoverian force on the Elbe, and on the counsel of the Prussian King placed the best of his generals, the Prince of Brunswick, at its head; while subsidy after subsidy were poured into Frederick's exhausted treasury. Pitt's trust was met by the most brilliant display of military genius which the modern world had as yet witnessed. Two months after his repulse at Kolin, Frederick flung himself on a French army which had advanced into the heart of Germany, and annihilated it in the victory of Rossbach. Before another month had passed he hurried from the Saale to the Oder, and by a yet more signal victory at Leuthen cleared Silesia of the Austrians. The victory of Rossbach was destined to change the fortunes of the world by bringing about the unity of Germany; its immediate effect was to force the French army on the Elbe to fall back on the Rhine. Here Ferdinand of Brunswick, reinforced with twenty thousand English soldiers, held them at bay during the summer, while Frederick, foiled in an attack on Moravia, drove the Russians back on Poland in the battle of Zorndorf. His defeat however by the Austrian General Daun at Hochkirch proved the first of a series of terrible misfortunes; and the year 1759 marks the lowest point of his fortunes. A fresh advance of the Russian

MEDALS COMMEMORATING BATTLES OF ROSSBACH AND LEUTHEN.

Rossbach Nov. 1757

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army forced the King to attack it at Kunersdorf in August, and Frederick's repulse ended in the utter rout of his army. For the moment all seemed lost, for even Berlin lay open to the conqueror. A few days later the surrender of Dresden gave Saxony to the Austrians; and at the close of the year an attempt upon them at Plauen was foiled with terrible loss. But every disaster was retrieved by the indomitable courage and tenacity of the King, and winter found him as before master of Silesia and of all Saxony save the ground which Daun's camp covered. The year which marked the lowest point of Frederick's fortunes was the year of Pitt's greatest triumphs, the year of Minden and Quiberon and Quebec. France aimed both at a descent upon England and at

MEDAL COMMEMORATING BATTLE OF MINDEN.

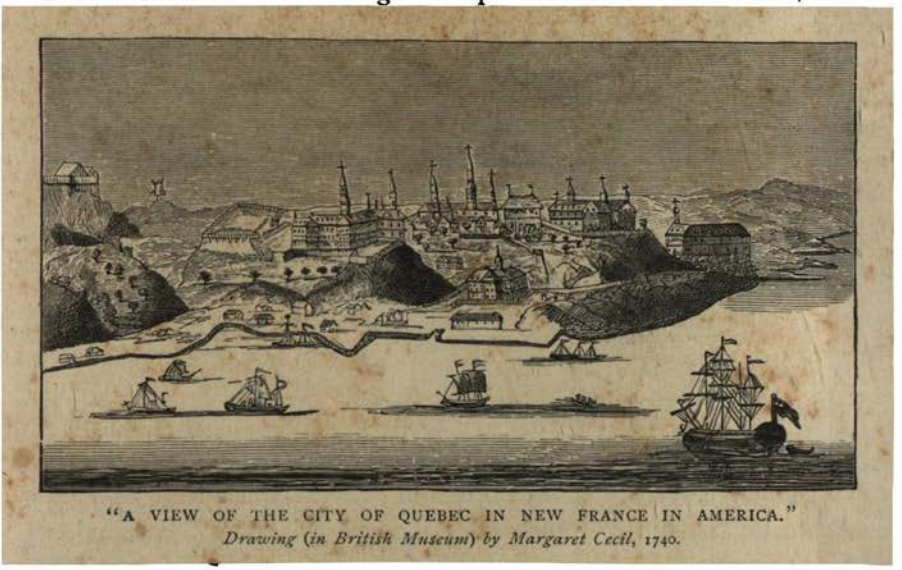
the conquest of Hanover, and gathered a naval armament at Brest, while fifty thousand men under Contades and Broglie united on the Weser. Ferdinand with less than forty thousand met them on

Minden Aug. 1, 1759

the field of Minden. The French marched along the Weser to the attack, with their flanks protected by that river and a brook which ran into it, and with their cavalry, ten thousand strong, massed in the centre. The six English regiments in Ferdinand's army fronted the French horse, and, mistaking their general's order, marched at once upon them in line, regardless of the batteries on their flank, and rolled back charge after charge with volleys of musketry. In an hour the French centre was utterly broken. "I have seen," said Contades, "what I never thought to be possible—a single line of infantry break through three lines of cavalry, ranked in order of battle, and tumble them to ruin!" Nothing but the refusal of Lord John Sackville to complete the victory by a charge of the

horse which he headed saved the French from utter rout. As it was, their army again fell back broken on Frankfort and the Rhine. The project of an invasion of England met with like success. Eighteen thousand men lay ready to embark on board the French fleet, when Admiral Hawke came in sight of it at the mouth of Quiberon Bay. The sea was rolling high, and the coast where the French ships lay was so dangerous from its shoals and granite reefs that the pilot remonstrated with the English admiral against his project of attack. "You have done your duty in this remonstrance," Hawke coolly replied; "now lay me alongside the French admiral." Two English ships were lost on the shoals, but

Quiberon Nov. 20



"A VIEW OF THE CITY OF QUEBEC IN NEW FRANCE IN AMERICA."
Drawing (in British Museum) by Margaret Cecil, 1740.

the French fleet was ruined and the disgrace of Byng's retreat wiped away.

The Conquest of Canada

It was not in the Old World only that the year of Minden and Quiberon brought glory to the arms of England. In Europe, Pitt had wisely limited his efforts to the support of Prussia, but across the Atlantic the field was wholly his own, and he had no sooner entered office than the desultory raids, which had hitherto been the only resistance to French aggression, were superseded by a large and comprehensive plan of attack. The sympathies of the colonies were won by an order which gave their provincial officers equal rank with the royal officers in the field. They raised at

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Pitt's call twenty thousand men, and taxed themselves heavily for their support. Three expeditions were simultaneously directed against the French line—one to the Ohio valley, one against Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, while a third under General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen sailed to the mouth of the St.

1758 Lawrence. The last was brilliantly successful. Louisburg, though defended by a garrison of five thousand men, was taken with the fleet in its harbour, and the whole province of Cape Breton reduced. The American militia supported the British troops in a vigorous campaign against the forts; and though Montcalm, with a far inferior force, was able to repulse General Abercromby from Ticonderoga, a force from Philadelphia and Virginia, guided and inspired by the courage of George Washington, made itself master

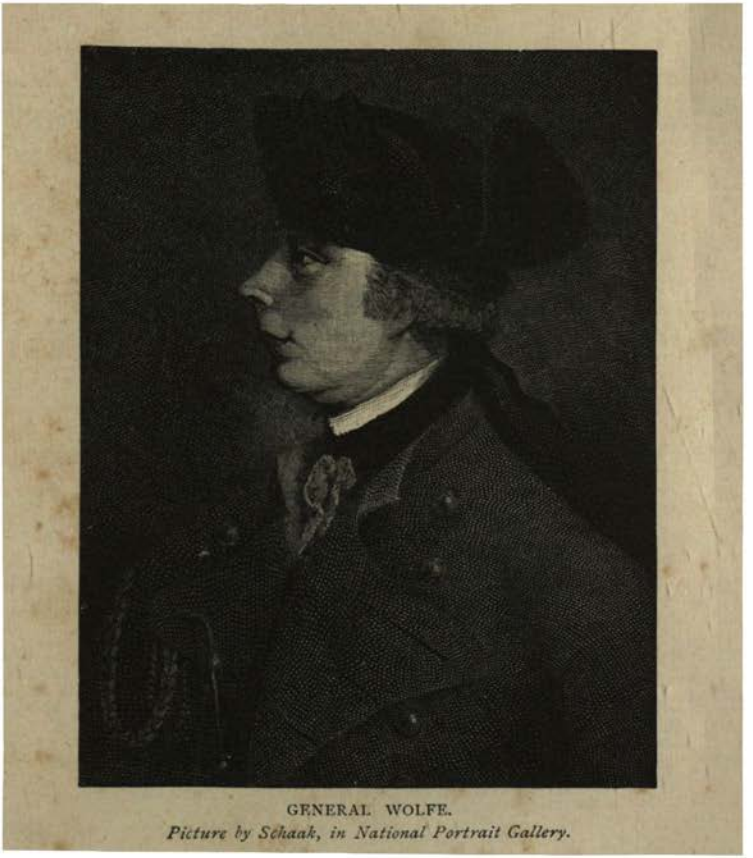
MEDAL COMMEMORATING CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG AND CAPE BRETON.

of Duquesne. The name of Pittsburg which was given to their new conquest still commemorates the enthusiasm of the colonists for the great Minister who first opened to them the West. The

1759 next year saw the evacuation of Ticonderoga before the advance of Amherst, and the capture of Fort Niagara after the defeat of an Indian force which marched to its relief. The capture of the three forts was the close of the French effort to bar the advance of the colonists to the valley of the Mississippi, and to place in other than English hands the destinies of North America. But Pitt had resolved, not merely to foil the ambition of Montcalm, but to destroy the French rule in America altogether; and while Amherst was breaking through the line of forts, an expedition under

Wolfe General Wolfe entered the St. Lawrence and anchored below Quebec. Wolfe had already fought at Dettingen, Fontenoy, and

Laffeldt, and had played the first part in the capture of Louisburg. Pitt had discerned the genius and heroism which lay hidden beneath the awkward manner and the occasional gasconade of the young soldier of thirty-three whom he chose for the crowning exploit of the war, but for a while his sagacity seemed to have failed. No efforts could draw Montcalm from the long line of



GENERAL WOLFE.
Picture by Schaak, in National Portrait Gallery.

inaccessible cliffs which at this point borders the river, and for six weeks Wolfe saw his men wasting away in inactivity while he himself lay prostrate with sickness and despair. At last his resolution was fixed, and in a long line of boats the army dropped down the St. Lawrence to a point at the base of the Heights of Abraham, where a narrow path had been discovered to the summit. Not a voice broke the silence of the night save the voice of Wolfe him-

THE CAPTURE OF QUEBEC.
Contemporary print.

self, as he quietly repeated the stanzas of Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," remarking as he closed, "I had rather be the author of that poem than take Quebec." But his nature was as brave as it was tender; he was the first to leap on shore and to scale the narrow path where no two men could go abreast. His men followed, pulling themselves to the top by the help of bushes and the crags, and at daybreak on the 12th of September the whole army stood in orderly formation before Quebec. Montcalm hastened to attack, though his force, composed chiefly of raw militia, was far inferior in discipline to the English; his onset however was met by a steady fire, and at the first English advance his men gave way. Wolfe headed a charge which broke the French line, but a ball pierced his breast in the moment of victory. "They run," cried an officer who held the dying man in his arms —"I protest they run." Wolfe rallied to ask who they were that ran, and was told "The French." "Then," he murmured, "I die happy!" The fall of Montcalm in the moment of his defeat completed the victory; and the submission of Canada, on the capture of Montreal by Amherst in 1760, put an end to the dream of a French empire in America.

Quebec

MEDAL COMMEMORATING SUCCESSES OF 1759.

FIGHT BETWEEN THE "CENTURION" (ANSON'S SHIP) AND A MANILLA SHIP.

Harris's Voyages.

1. The "Centurion." 2. The "Castle." 3. The "Manilla Ship."

NORTH AMERICAN TRADERS AND INDIANS.
Gauthier and Faden's Map of Canada, 1777.

Section II.—The Independence of America, 1761—1782

[*Authorities.*—The two sides of the American quarrel have been told with the same purpose of fairness and truthfulness, though with a very different bias, by Lord Stanhope ("History of England from the Peace of Utrecht"), and Mr. Bancroft ("History of the United States"). The latter is by far the more detailed and picturesque, the former perhaps the cooler and more impartial of the two narratives. For England see Mr. Massey's "History of England from the Accession of George the Third;" Walpole's "Memoirs of the Early Reign of George the Third;" the Rockingham Memoirs; the Grenville Papers; the Bedford Correspondence; the correspondence of George the Third with Lord North; the Letters of Junius; and Lord Russell's "Life and Correspondence of C. J. Fox." Burke's speeches and pamphlets during this period, above all his "Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents," are indispensable for any real knowledge of it. The Constitutional History of Sir Erskine May all but compensates us, in its fulness and impartiality, for the loss of Mr. Hallam's comments.] [Mr. Lecky's "History of England in the Eighteenth Century" has been published since this book was written.—*Ed.*]

The Seven Years' War

Never had England played so great a part in the history of mankind as in the year 1759. It was a year of triumphs in every quarter of the world. In September came the news of Minden, and of a victory off Lagos. In October came tidings of the capture of Quebec. November brought word of the French

SHAH ALLUM, MOGUL OF HINDOSTAN, REVIEWING THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S TROOPS.

Picture by Tilly Kettle, painted 1781; in the possession of Mr. Robert Webb.

defeat at Quiberon. "We are forced to ask every morning what victory there is," laughed Horace Walpole, "for fear of missing one." But it was not so much in the number as in the importance of its triumphs that the Seven Years' War stood and remains still without a rival. It is no exaggeration to say that three of its many victories determined for ages to come the destinies of mankind. With that of Rossbach began the re-creation of Germany, the revival of its political and intellectual life, the long process of its union under the leadership of Prussia and Prussia's kings. With that of Plassey the influence of Europe told for the first time since the days of Alexander on the nations of the East. The world, in Burke's gorgeous phrase, "saw one of the races of the north-west cast into the heart of Asia new manners, new doctrines, new institutions." With the triumph of Wolfe on the heights of Abraham began the history of the United States. By removing an enemy whose dread had knit the colonists to the mother country, and by breaking through the line with which France had barred them from the basin of the Mississippi, Pitt laid the foundation of the great republic of the west. Nor were these triumphs less momentous to Britain. The Seven Years' War is a turning-point in our national history, as it is a turning-point in the history of the world. Till now the relative weight of the European states had been drawn from their possessions within Europe itself. But from the close of the war it mattered little whether England counted for less or more with the nations around her. She was no longer a mere European power, no longer a mere rival of Germany or Russia or France. Mistress of Northern America, the future mistress of India, claiming as her own the empire of the seas, Britain suddenly towered high above the nations whose positions in a single continent doomed them to comparative insignificance in the after history of the world. The war indeed was hardly ended when a consciousness of the destinies that lay before the English people showed itself in the restlessness with which our seamen penetrated into far-off seas. The Atlantic was dwindling into a mere strait within the British Empire; but beyond it to the westward lay a reach of waters where the British flag was almost unknown. In the year which followed the Peace of Paris two English ships were sent on a cruise of discovery to the Straits of

Britain and its Empire

1764

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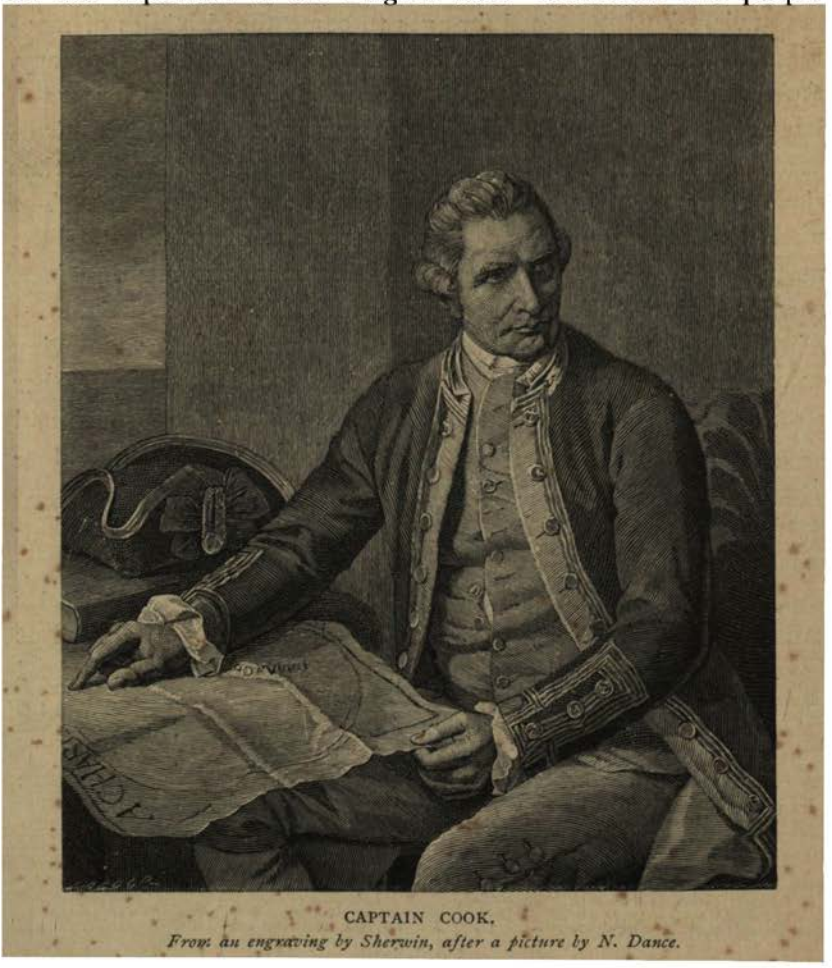
Magellan; three years later Captain Wallis reached the coral reefs of Tahiti; and in 1768 Captain Cook traversed the Pacific from end to end, and wherever he touched, in New Zealand, in Australia, he claimed the soil for the English Crown, and opened a new world for the expansion of the English race. Statesmen and people



CAPTAIN COOK.
From an engraving by Sherwin, after a picture by N. Dance.

alike felt the change in their country's attitude. In the words of Burke, the Parliament of Britain claimed "an imperial character in which as from the throne of heaven she superintends all the several inferior legislatures, and guides and controls them all, without annihilating any." Its people, steeped in the commercial ideas of the time, saw in the growth of their vast possessions, the monopoly

London. Macmillan & Co.

of whose trade was reserved to the mother country, a source of boundless wealth. The trade with America alone was in 1772 nearly equal to what England carried on with the whole world at the beginning of the century. To guard and preserve so vast and lucrative a dominion became from this moment not only the aim of British statesmen but the resolve of the British people.

The American Colonies 1664

From the time when the Puritan emigration added the four New England States, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island to those of Maryland and Virginia the progress of the English colonies in North America had been slow, but it had never ceased. Settlers still came, though in smaller numbers, and two new colonies south of Virginia received from Charles the Second their name of the Carolinas. The war with Holland transferred to British rule a district claimed by the Dutch from the Hudson to the inner Lakes; and this country, which was granted by Charles to his brother, received from him the name of New York. Portions were soon broken off from its vast territory to form the colonies of New Jersey and Delaware. In 1682 a train of Quakers followed William Penn across the Delaware into the heart of the primæval forest, and became a colony which recalled its founder and the woodlands among which he planted it in its name of Pennsylvania. A long interval elapsed before a new settlement,

W. PENN.
Portrait in National Museum, Philadelphia.

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Their progress

which received its title of Georgia from the reigning sovereign, George the Second, was established by General Oglethorpe on the Savannah as a refuge for English debtors and for the persecuted Protestants of Germany. Slow as this progress seemed, the colonies were really growing fast in numbers and in wealth. Their whole population amounted in the middle of the eighteenth century

PINE-TREE SHILLING OF MASSACHUSETTS.

to about 1,200,000 whites and a quarter of a million of negroes; nearly a fourth of that of the mother country. The wealth of the colonists was growing even faster than their numbers. As yet the southern colonies were the more productive. Virginia boasted of its tobacco plantations, Georgia and the Carolinas of their maize and rice and indigo crops, while New York and Pennsylvania, with the colonies of New England, were restricted to their whale and cod fisheries, their corn harvests and their timber trade. The distinction indeed between the Northern and Southern colonies

NEW AMSTERDAM (AFTERWARDS NEW YORK).
N. J. Visscher's Map of New England and New Belgium. Mid. Seventeenth Century.

was more than an industrial one. In the Southern States the prevalence of slavery produced an aristocratic spirit and favoured the creation of large estates; even the system of entails had been introduced among the wealthy planters of Virginia, where many of the older English families found representatives in houses such as

those of Fairfax and Washington. Throughout New England, on the other hand, the characteristics of the Puritans, their piety, their intolerance, their simplicity of life, their love of equality and tendency to democratic institutions, remained unchanged. In education and political activity New England stood far ahead of its fellow colonies, for the settlement of the Puritans had been followed at once by the establishment of a system of local schools which is still the glory of America. "Every township," it was

"A PROSPECT OF THE COLLEDGES AT CAMBRIDGE IN NEW ENGLAND."
American print. c. 1739.

enacted, "after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one to teach all children to write and read; and when any town shall increase to the number of a hundred families, they shall set up a grammar school."

England and the Colonies

Great however as these differences were, and great as was to be their influence on American history, they were little felt as yet. In the main features of their outer organization the whole of the colonies stood fairly at one. In religious and in civil matters

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alike all of them contrasted sharply with the England at home. Religious tolerance had been brought about by a medley of religious faiths such as the world had never seen before. New England was still a Puritan stronghold. In all the Southern colonies the Episcopal Church was established by law, and the bulk of the settlers clung to it; but Roman Catholics formed a large part of the population of Maryland. Pennsylvania was a State of Quakers. Presbyterians and Baptists had fled from tests and persecutions to colonise New Jersey. Lutherans and Moravians from Germany abounded among the settlers of Carolina and Georgia. In such a chaos of creeds religious persecution became impossible. There was the same outer diversity and the same real unity in the political tendency and organization of the States. Whether the spirit of the colony was democratic, moderate, or oligarchical, its form of government was pretty much the same. The original rights of the proprietor, the projector and grantee of the earliest settlement, had in all cases, save in those of Pennsylvania and Maryland, either ceased to exist or fallen into desuetude. The government of each colony lay in a House of Assembly elected by the people at large, with a Council sometimes elected, sometimes nominated by the Governor, and a Governor either elected or appointed by the Crown. With the appointment of these Governors all administrative interference on the part of the Government at home practically ended. The colonies were left by a happy neglect to themselves. It was wittily said at a later day that "Mr. Grenville lost America because he read the American despatches, which none of his predecessors ever did." There was little room indeed for any interference within the limits of the colonies. Their privileges were secured by royal charters. Their Assemblies alone exercised the right of internal taxation, and they exercised it sparingly. Walpole, like Pitt afterwards, set roughly aside the project for an American excise. "I have Old England set against me," he said, "by this measure, and do you think I will have New England too?" Even in matters of trade the supremacy of the mother country was far from being a galling one. There were some small import duties, but they were evaded by a well-understood system of smuggling. The restriction of trade with the colonies to Great Britain was more than compen-

English control

sated by the commercial privileges which the Americans enjoyed as British subjects. As yet, therefore, there was nothing to break the good will which the colonists felt towards the mother country, while the danger of French aggression drew them closely to it. But strong as the attachment of the Americans to Britain seemed at the close of the war, keen lookers-on saw in the very completeness of Pitt's triumph a danger to their future union. The presence of the French in Canada, their designs in the west, had thrown America for protection on the mother-country. But with the conquest of Canada all need of this protection was removed. The attitude of England towards its distant dependency became one of mere possession: and differences of temper, which had till now been thrown into the background by the higher need for union, started into a new prominence. If questions of trade and taxation awoke murmurings and disputes, behind these grievances lay an uneasy dread at the democratic form which the government and society of the colonies had taken, and at the "levelling principles" which prevailed.

George the Third

To check this republican spirit, to crush all dreams of severance, and to strengthen the unity of the British Empire was one of the chief aims of the young sovereign who mounted the throne on the death of his grandfather in 1760. For the first and last time since the accession of the House of Hanover England saw a King who was resolved to play a part in English politics; and the part which George the Third succeeded in playing was undoubtedly a memorable one. In ten years he reduced government to a shadow, and turned the loyalty of his subjects at home into disaffection. In twenty he had forced the American colonies into revolt and independence, and brought England to what then seemed the brink of ruin. Work such as this has sometimes been done by very great men, and often by very wicked and profligate men; but George was neither profligate nor great. He had a smaller mind than any English king before him save James the Second. He was wretchedly educated, and his natural powers were of the meanest sort. Nor had he the capacity for using greater minds than his own by which some sovereigns have concealed their natural littleness. On the contrary, his only feeling towards great men was one of jealousy and hate. He

GEORGE III.

Picture by Allan Ramsay (1767), in the National Portrait Gallery.

longed for the time when "decrepitude or death" might put an end to Pitt; and even when death had freed him from "this trumpet of sedition," he denounced the proposal for a public monument to the great statesman as "an offensive measure to me personally." But dull and petty as his temper was, he was clear as to his purpose and obstinate in the pursuit of it. And his purpose was to rule. "George," his mother, the Princess of Wales, had continually repeated to him in youth, "George, be king." He called himself always "a Whig of the Revolution,"

STATE COACH OF GEORGE III.
South Kensington Museum.

and he had no wish to undo the work which he believed the Revolution to have done. But he looked on the subjection of his two predecessors to the will of their ministers as no real part of the work of the Revolution, but as a usurpation of that authority which the Revolution had left to the Crown. And to this usurpation he was determined not to submit. His resolve was to govern, not to govern against law, but simply to govern, to be freed from the dictation of parties and ministers, and to be in effect the first Minister of the State. How utterly incompatible such a dream was with the Parliamentary constitution of the country as it had

Return of the Tories

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received its final form from Sunderland it is easy to see; but George was resolved to carry out his dream. And in carrying it out he was aided by the circumstances of the time. The spell of Jacobitism was broken by the defeat of Charles Edward, and the later degradation of his life wore finally away the thin coating of disloyalty which clung to the clergy and the squires. They were ready again to take part in politics, and in the accession of a king who, unlike his two predecessors, was no stranger but an Englishman, who had been born in England and spoke English, they found the opportunity they desired. From the opening of the reign Tories gradually appeared again at court. It was only slowly indeed that the party as a whole swung round to a steady support of the Government; but their action told at once on the complexion of English politics. Their withdrawal from public affairs had left them untouched by the progress of political ideas since the Revolution of 1688, and when they returned to political life it was to invest the new sovereign with all the reverence which they had bestowed on the Stuarts. A "King's party" was thus ready made to his hand; but George was able to strengthen it by a vigorous exertion of the power and influence which was still left to the Crown. All promotion in the Church, all advancement in the army, a great number of places in the civil administration and about the court, were still at the King's disposal. If this vast mass of patronage had been practically usurped by the ministers of his predecessors, it was resumed and firmly held by George the Third; and the character of the House of Commons made patronage, as we have seen, a powerful engine in its management. George had one of Walpole's weapons in his hands, and he used it with unscrupulous energy to break up the party which Walpole had held so long together. He saw that the Whigs were divided among themselves by the factious spirit which springs from a long hold of office, and that they were weakened by the rising contempt with which the country at large regarded the selfishness and corruption of its representatives. More than thirty years before, Gay had set the leading statesmen of the day on the public stage under the guise of highwaymen and pickpockets. "It is difficult to determine," said the witty playwright, "whether the fine gentlemen imitate the gentlemen of the road, or the gentlemen of the

The King's Friends

road the fine gentlemen." And now that the "fine gentlemen" were represented by hoary jobbers such as Newcastle, the public contempt was fiercer than ever, and men turned sickened from the intrigues and corruption of party to a young sovereign who aired himself in a character which Bolingbroke had invented, as a Patriot King.

Pitt resigns

Had Pitt and Newcastle held together, supported as the one was by the commercial classes, the other by the Whig families and the whole machinery of Parliamentary management, George must have struggled in vain. But the ministry was already disunited. The Whigs, attached to peace by the traditions of Walpole, dismayed at the enormous expenditure, and haughty with the pride of a ruling oligarchy, were in silent revolt against the war and the supremacy of the Great Commoner. It was against their will that he rejected proposals of peace from France which would have secured to England all her conquests on the terms of a desertion of Prussia, and that his steady support enabled Frederick still to hold out against the terrible exhaustion of an unequal struggle. The campaign of 1760 indeed was one of the grandest efforts of Frederick's genius. Foiled in an attempt on Dresden, he again saved Silesia by a victory at Liegnitz, and hurled back an advance of Daun by a victory at Torgau; while Ferdinand of Brunswick held his ground as of old along the Weser. But even victories drained Frederick's strength. Men and money alike failed him.

Print in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

THE TSCHUDI FAMILY: TSCHUDI TUNING A HARPSICHORD PRESENTED BY HIM TO FREDERICK THE GREAT, 1745.

Picture in the possession of Mr. J. H. Tschudi Broadwood.

It was impossible for him to strike another great blow, and the ring of enemies again closed slowly round him. His one remaining hope lay in the firm support of Pitt, and triumphant as his policy had been, Pitt was tottering to his fall. The envy and resentment of his colleagues at his undisguised supremacy found a supporter in the young King. The Earl of Bute, a mere Court favourite, with the temper and abilities of a gentleman usher, was forced into the Cabinet. As he was known to be his master's mouthpiece, a peace-party was at once formed; but Pitt showed no signs of giving way. In 1761 he proposed a vast extension of the war. He had learnt the signature of a treaty which brought into force the Family Compact between the Courts of Paris and Madrid, and of a special convention which bound the last to declare war on England at the close of the year. Pitt proposed to anticipate the blow by an instant seizure of the treasure fleet which was on its way from the Indies to Cadiz, by occupying the Isthmus of Panama, and by an attack on the Spanish dominions in the New World. But his colleagues shrank from plans so vast and daring; and Newcastle was backed in his resistance by the bulk of the Whigs. The King openly supported them. It was in vain that Pitt enforced his threat of resignation by declaring himself responsible to "the people"; and the resignation of his post in October changed the face of European affairs.

Close of the Seven Years' War

"Pitt disgraced!" wrote a French philosopher, "it is worth two victories to us!" Frederick on the other hand was almost driven to despair. But George saw in the removal of his powerful minister an opening for the realization of his long-cherished plans. Pitt's appeal had been heard by the people at large. When he went to Guildhall the Londoners hung on his carriage wheels, hugged his footmen, and even kissed his horses. Their break with Pitt was in fact the death-blow of the Whigs. Newcastle found he had freed himself from the great statesman only to be driven from office by a series of studied mortifications from his young master; and the more powerful of his Whig colleagues followed him into retirement. George saw himself triumphant over the two great forces which had hampered the free action of the Crown, "the power which arose," in Burke's words, "from popularity, and the power which arose from political connexion;" and the rise of Lord Bute

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to the post of First Minister marked the triumph of the King. He took office simply as an agent of the King's will; and the King's will was to end the war. In the spring of 1762 Frederick, who still held his ground stubbornly against fate, was brought to the brink of ruin by a withdrawal of the English subsidies; it was in fact only his dogged resolution and a sudden change in the policy of Russia, which followed on the death of his enemy the Czarina Elizabeth, that enabled him at last to retire from the struggle in the Treaty of Hubertsberg without the loss of an inch of territory. George and Lord Bute had already purchased peace at a very different price. With a shameless indifference to the national honour they not only deserted Frederick, but they offered to negotiate a peace for him on the basis of a cession of Silesia to Maria Theresa and East Prussia to the Czarina. The issue of the strife with Spain saved England from humiliation such as this. Pitt's policy of instant attack had been justified by a Spanish declaration of war three weeks after his fall; and the year 1762 saw triumphs which vindicated his confidence in the issue of the new struggle. Martinico, the strongest and wealthiest of the French West Indian possessions, was conquered at the opening of the year, and its conquest was followed by those of Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent. In the summer the reduction of Havana brought with it the gain of the rich Spanish colony of Cuba. The Philippines, the wealthiest of the Spanish colonies in the Pacific, yielded to a British fleet. It was these losses that brought about the Peace of Paris. So eager was Bute to end the war that he contented himself in Europe with the recovery of Minorca, while he restored Martinico to France, and Cuba and the Philippines to Spain. The real gains of Britain were in India and America. In the first the French abandoned all right to any military settlement. From the second they wholly withdrew. To England they gave up Canada, Nova Scotia, and Louisiana as far as the Mississippi, while they resigned the rest of that province to Spain, in compensation for its surrender of Florida to the British Crown.

Bute's Ministry

Peace of Paris Feb. 1763

The House of Commons

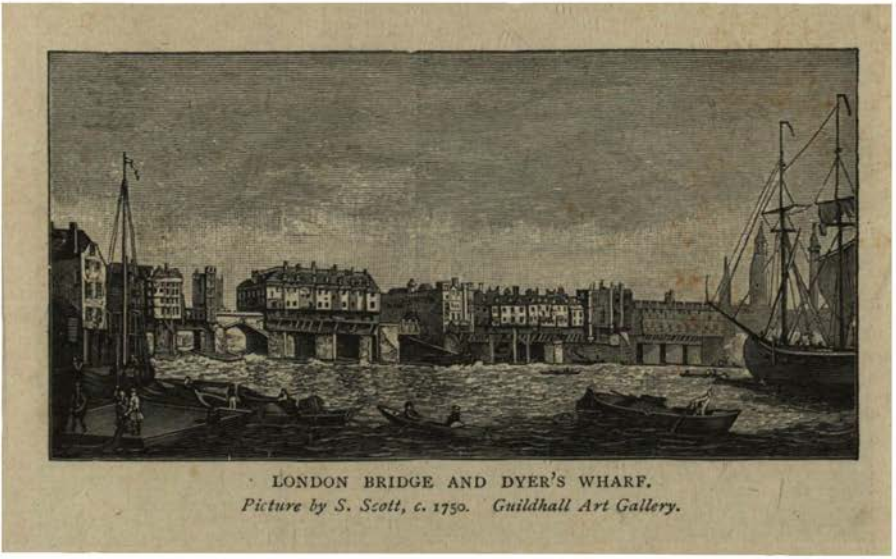
The anxiety which the young King showed for peace abroad sprang mainly from his belief that peace was needful for success in the struggle for power at home. So long as the war lasted Pitt's return to office and the union of the Whigs under his guidance was

an hourly danger. But with peace the King's hands were free. He could count on the dissensions of the Whigs, on the new-born loyalty of the Tories, on the influence of the Crown patronage which he had taken into his own hands. But what he counted on most of all was the character of the House of Commons. At a time when it had become all-powerful in the State, the House of Commons had ceased in any real and effective sense to be a representative body at all. That changes in the distribution of seats

THE MANSION HOUSE, LONDON.
Picture by S. Scott, c. 1750. Guildhall Art Gallery.

were called for by the natural shiftings of population and wealth since the days of Edward the First had been recognized as early as the Civil Wars; but the reforms of the Long Parliament were cancelled at the Restoration. From the time of Charles the Second to that of George the Third not a single effort had been made to meet the growing abuses of our parliamentary system. Great towns like Manchester or Birmingham remained without a member, while members still sat for boroughs which, like Old Sarum, had actually vanished from the face of the earth. The

effort of the Tudor sovereigns to establish a Court party in the House by a profuse creation of boroughs, most of which were mere villages then in the hands of the Crown, had ended in the appropriation of these seats by the neighbouring landowners, who bought and sold them as they bought and sold their own estates. Even in towns which had a real claim to representation, the narrowing of municipal privileges ever since the fourteenth century to a small part of the inhabitants, and in many cases the restriction of electoral rights to the members of the governing corporation, rendered their representation a mere name. The choice of such places hung simply on the purse or influence of politicians. Some



LONDON BRIDGE AND DYER'S WHARF.
Picture by S. Scott, c. 1750. Guildhall Art Gallery.

were "the King's boroughs," others obediently returned nominees of the Ministry of the day, others were "close boroughs" in the hands of jobbers like the Duke of Newcastle, who at one time returned a third of all the borough members in the House. The counties and the great commercial towns could alone be said to exercise any real right of suffrage, though the enormous expense of contesting such constituencies practically left their representation in the hands of the great local families. But even in the counties the suffrage was ridiculously limited and unequal. Out of a population of eight millions, only a hundred and sixty thousand were electors at all. How far such a House was from really repre-

senting English opinion we see from the fact that in the height of his popularity Pitt could hardly find a seat in it. Purchase was becoming more and more the means of entering Parliament. Seats were bought and sold in the open market at a price which rose to four thousand pounds, and we can hardly wonder that a reformer could allege without a chance of denial, "This House is not a representative of the people of Great Britain. It is the representative of nominal boroughs, of ruined and exterminated towns, of noble families, of wealthy individuals, of foreign potentates." The meanest motives naturally told on a body returned by such con-

THE FLEET RIVER.
Picture by S. Scott, c. 1750. Guildhall Art Gallery.

stituencies, cut off from the influence of public opinion by the secrecy of Parliamentary proceedings, and yet invested with almost boundless authority. Walpole and Newcastle had made bribery and borough-jobbing the base of their power. George the Third seized it in his turn as a base of the power he proposed to give to the Crown. The royal revenue was employed to buy seats and to buy votes. Day by day George himself scrutinized the voting-list of the two Houses, and distributed rewards and punishments as members voted according to his will or no. Promotion in the civil service, preferment in the Church, rank in the army, was reserved for "the King's friends." Pensions and court places were

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used to influence debates. Bribery was employed on a scale never known before. Under Bute's ministry an office was opened at the Treasury for the purchase of members, and twenty-five thousand pounds are said to have been spent in a single day.

Fall of Bute

The result of these measures was soon seen in the tone of the Parliament. Till now it had bowed beneath the greatness of Pitt; but in the teeth of his denunciation the provisions of the Peace of Paris were approved by a majority of five to one. "Now indeed," cried the Princess Dowager, "my son is king." But the victory was hardly won when King and minister found themselves battling with a storm of popular ill-will such as never since the overthrow of the Stuarts assailed the throne. Violent and reckless as it was, the storm only marked a fresh advance in the re-awakening of public opinion. The Parliament indeed had become supreme, and in theory the Parliament was a representative of the whole English people. But in actual fact the bulk of the English people found itself powerless to control the course of English government. For the first and last time in our history Parliament was unpopular and its opponents sure of popularity. The House of Commons was more corrupt than ever, and it was the slave of the King. The King still called himself a Whig, yet he was reviving a system of absolutism which Whiggism had long made impossible. His minister was a mere favourite, and in Englishmen's eyes a foreigner. The masses saw this, but they saw no way of mending it. They had no means of influencing the Government they hated save by sheer violence. They came therefore to the front with their old national and religious bigotry, their long-nursed dislike of the Hanoverian Court, their long-nursed habits of violence and faction, their long-nursed hatred of Parliament, but with no means of expressing them save riot and uproar. Bute found himself the object of a sudden and universal hatred; and in 1763 he withdrew from office as a means of allaying the storm of popular indignation. But the King was made of more stubborn stuff than his minister. If he suffered his favourite to resign he still regarded him as the real head of administration; for the ministry which Bute left behind him consisted simply of the more courtly of his colleagues. George Grenville was its nominal chief, but its measures were still secretly dictated by the favourite. Charles

George Grenville

Townshend and the Duke of Bedford, the two ablest of the Whigs who had remained with Bute after Newcastle's dismissal, refused to join it; and its one man of ability was Lord Shelburne, a young Irishman. It was in fact only the disunion of its opponents which allowed it to hold its ground. Townshend and Bedford remained apart from the main body of the Whigs, and both sections held aloof from Pitt. George had counted on the divisions of the opposition in forming such a ministry; and he counted on the weakness of the ministry to make it the creature of his will. But Grenville had no mind to be a puppet either of the King or of Bute; and the conflicts between the King and his minister soon became so bitter that George appealed in despair to Pitt to form *Aug.* 1763 a ministry. Never had Pitt shown a nobler patriotism or a grander self-command than in the reception he gave to this appeal. He set aside all resentment at his own expulsion from office by Newcastle and the Whigs, and made the return to office of the whole party, with the exception of Bedford, a condition of his own. George however refused to comply with terms which would have defeated his designs. The result left Grenville as powerful as he had been weak. Bute ceased to exercise any political influence. On the other hand, Bedford joined Grenville with his whole party, and the ministry thus became strong and compact.

Quarrel with the Press

Grenville's one aim was to enforce the supremacy of Parliament over subject as over King. He therefore struck fiercely at the new force of opinion which had just shown its power in the fall of Bute. The opinion of the country no sooner found itself unrepresented in Parliament than it sought an outlet in the Press. In spite of the removal of the censorship after the Revolution the Press had been slow to attain any political influence. Under the first two Georges its progress had been hindered by the absence of great topics for discussion, the worthlessness of the writers, and above all the lethargy of the time. It was in fact not till the accession of George the Third that the impulse which Pitt had given to the national spirit, and the rise of a keener interest in politics, raised the Press into a political power. The nation found in it a court of appeal from the Houses of Parliament. The journals became organs for that outburst of popular hatred which drove Lord Bute

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John Wilkes

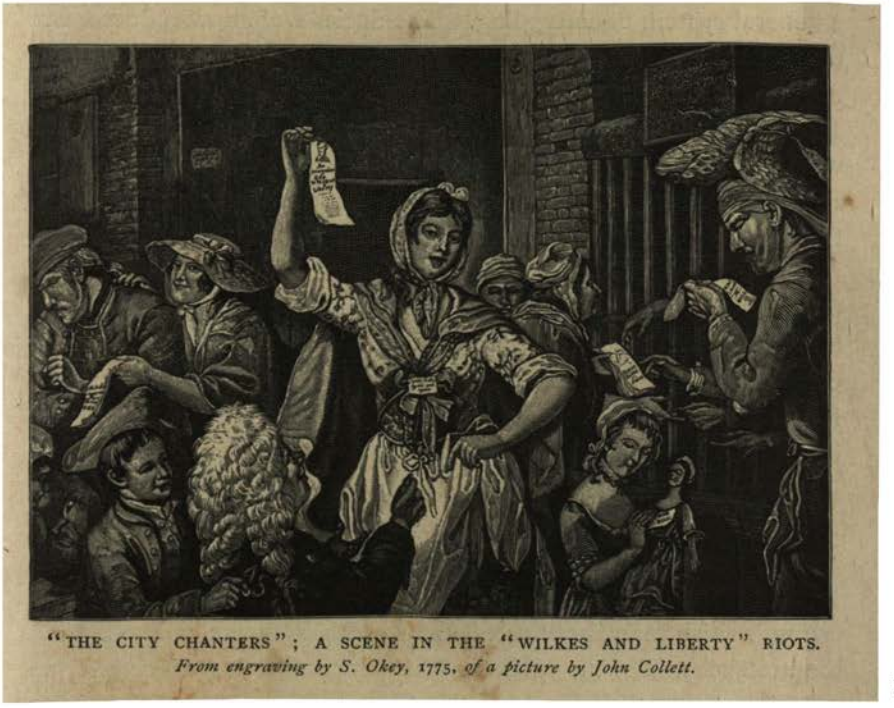
from office; and in the *North Briton* John Wilkes led the way by denouncing the Cabinet and the Peace with peculiar bitterness, and venturing to attack the hated minister by name. Wilkes was a worthless profligate, but he had a remarkable faculty of enlisting popular sympathy on his side, and by a singular irony of fortune he became the chief instrument in bringing about three of the greatest advances which our Constitution has ever made. He woke the nation to a conviction of the need for Parliamentary reform by his defence of the rights of constituencies against the despotism of the House of Commons. He took the lead in the struggle which put an end to the secrecy of Parliamentary proceedings. He was the first to establish the right of the Press to discuss public affairs. In his attack on the ministry of Lord Bute, however, he was simply an organ of the general discontent. It was indeed his attack which more than all else determined Bute to withdraw from office. But Grenville was of stouter stuff than the court favourite, and his administration was hardly reformed when he struck at the growing opposition to Parliament by a blow at its leader. In "Number 45" of the *North Briton* Wilkes had censured the speech from the throne at the opening of Parliament, and a "general warrant" by the Secretary of State was issued against the "authors, printers, and publishers of this seditious libel." Under this warrant forty-nine persons were seized for a time; and in spite of his privilege as a member of Parliament Wilkes himself was sent to the Tower. The arrest however was so utterly illegal that he was at once released by the Court of Common Pleas; but he was immediately prosecuted for libel. While the paper which formed the subject for prosecution was still before the courts of justice it was condemned by the House of Commons as a "false, scandalous, and seditious libel." The House of Lords at the same time voted a pamphlet found among Wilkes's papers to be blasphemous, and advised a prosecution. Wilkes fled to France, and was in 1764 expelled from the House of Commons. But the assumption of an arbitrary judicial power by both Houses, and the system of terror which Grenville put in force against the Press by issuing two hundred injunctions against different journals, roused a storm of indignation throughout the country. Every street resounded with cries of "Wilkes and Liberty." It was soon

Wilkes expelled

clear that opinion had been embittered rather than silenced by the blow at Wilkes; and six years later, the failure of the prosecution directed against an anonymous journalist named "Junius" for his Letter to the King established the right of the Press to criticize the conduct not of ministers or Parliament only, but of the sovereign himself.

The Stamp Act

The same narrowness of view, the same honesty of purpose, the same obstinacy of temper, were shown by Grenville in a yet more



"THE CITY CHANTERS"; A SCENE IN THE "WILKES AND LIBERTY" RIOTS.
From engraving by S. Okey, 1775, of a picture by John Collett.

important struggle, a struggle with the American Colonies. Pitt had waged war with characteristic profusion, and he had defrayed the cost of the war by enormous loans. At the time of the Peace of Paris the public debt stood at a hundred and forty millions. The first need therefore which met Bute after the conclusion of the Peace was that of making provision for the new burthens which the nation had incurred, and as these had been partly incurred in the defence of the American Colonies it was the general opinion of Englishmen that the Colonies should bear a share of them. In this

Bute and America

opinion Bute and the King concurred. But their plans went further than mere taxation. The new minister declared himself resolved on a rigorous execution of the Navigation laws, laws by which a monopoly of American trade was secured to the mother-country, on the raising of a revenue within the Colonies for the discharge of the debt, and above all on impressing upon the colonists a sense of their dependence upon Britain. The direct trade between America and the French or Spanish West Indian islands had hitherto been fettered by prohibitory duties, but these had been easily evaded by a general system of smuggling. The duties were now reduced, but the reduced duties were rigorously exacted, and a considerable naval force was despatched to the American coast with a view of suppressing the clandestine trade with the foreigner. The revenue which was expected from this measure was to be supplemented by an internal Stamp Tax, a tax on all legal documents issued within the Colonies. The plans of Bute had fallen to the ground on his retirement from office. But Grenville had fully concurred in the financial part at least of Bute's designs; and, now that he found himself at the head of a strong administration, he proceeded to carry out the plans which had been devised for the purpose of raising both an external and an internal revenue from America. One of his first steps was to suppress, by a rigid enforcement of the Navigation laws, the contraband trade which had grown up between American ports and the adjacent Spanish islands. Harsh and unwise as these measures seemed, the colonists owned their legality; and their resentment only showed itself in a pledge to use no British manufactures till the restrictions were relaxed. But the next scheme of the Minister—his proposal to introduce internal taxation within the bounds of the Colonies themselves by reviving the project of an excise or stamp duty, which Walpole's good sense had rejected—was of another order from his schemes for suppressing the contraband traffic. Unlike the system of the Navigation Acts, it was a gigantic change in the whole actual relations of England and its Colonies. They met it therefore in another spirit. Taxation and representation, they asserted, went hand in hand. America had no representatives in the British Parliament. The representatives of the colonists met in their own colonial assemblies, and all save the Pennsylvanians protested strongly against the

Grenville's policy

interference of Parliament with their right of self-taxation. Massachusetts marked accurately the position she took. "Prohibitions of trade are neither equitable nor just; but the power of taxing is the grand barrier of British liberty. If that is once broken down, all is lost." The distinction was accepted by the assembly of every colony; and it was with their protest that they despatched Benjamin Franklin, who had risen from his position of

Franklin's mission 1765

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.
Medallion by Nini, in the National Portrait Gallery.

a working printer in Philadelphia to high repute among scientific discoverers, as their agent to England. In England however, Franklin found few who recognized the distinction which the colonists had drawn. Grenville had no mind to change his plans without an assurance, which Franklin could not give, of a union of the Colonies to tax themselves; and the Stamp Act was passed through both Houses with less opposition than a turnpike bill.

The Stamp Act was hardly passed when an insult offered to the

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The Rockingham Ministry

Princess Dowager, by the exclusion of her name from a Regency Act, brought to a head the quarrel which had long been growing between the ministry and the King. George again offered power to William Pitt. But Pitt stood absolutely alone. The one friend who remained to him, his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, refused to aid in an attempt to construct a Cabinet; and he felt himself too weak, when thus deserted, to hold his ground in any ministerial combination with the Whigs. The King turned for help to the main body of the Whigs, now headed by the Marquis of Rockingham. The weakness of the ministry which Rockingham formed in July, 1765, was seen in its slowness to deal with American affairs. Franklin had seen no other course for the Colonies, when the obnoxious Acts were passed, but that of submission. But submission was the last thing the colonists dreamed of. Everywhere through New England riots broke out on the news of the arrival of the stamped paper; and the frightened collectors resigned their posts. Northern and Southern States were drawn together by the new danger. The assembly of Virginia was the first to formally deny the right of the British Parliament to meddle with internal taxation, and to demand the repeal of the acts. Massachusetts not only adopted the denial and the demand as its own, but proposed a Congress of delegates from all the colonial assemblies to provide for common and united action; and in October 1765 this Congress met to repeat the protest and petition of Virginia. The news of its assembly reached England at the end of the year, and at once called Pitt to the front when the Houses met in the spring of 1766. As a minister he had long since rejected a similar scheme for taxing the colonies. He had been ill and absent from Parliament when the Stamp Act was passed, but he adopted to the full the constitutional claim of America. He gloried in a resistance which was denounced in Parliament as rebellion. "In my opinion," he

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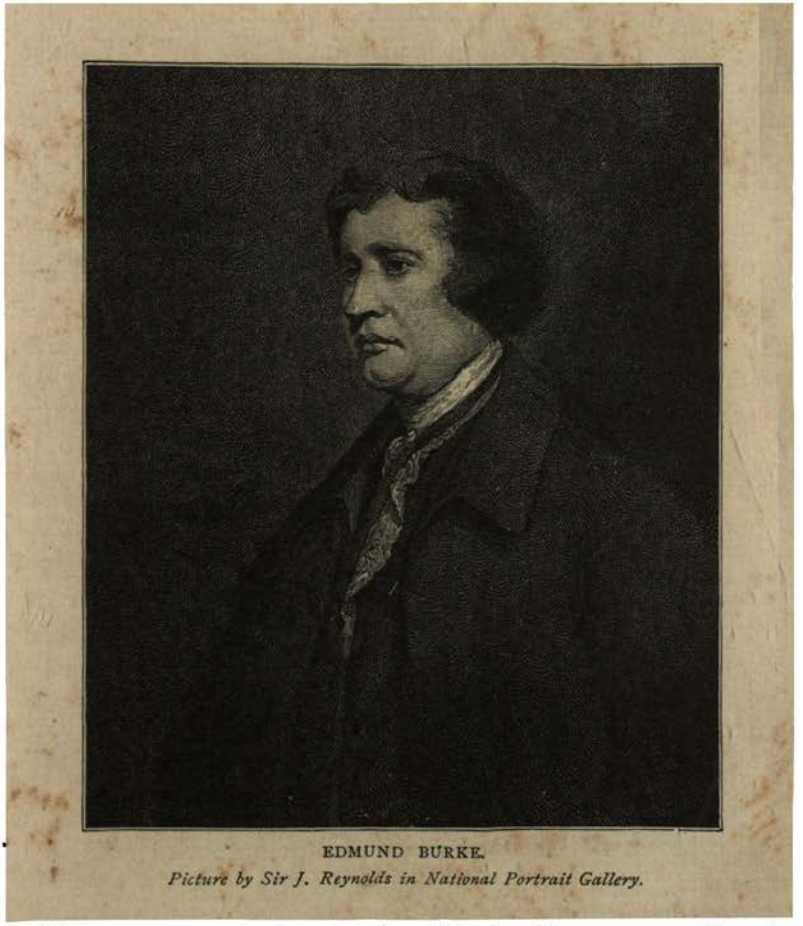
BRITISH STAMPS FOR AMERICA.

said, "this kingdom has no right to lay a tax on the colonies. . . America is obstinate! America is almost in open rebellion! Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest."



EDMUND BURKE.
Picture by Sir J. Reynolds in National Portrait Gallery.

Repeal of the Stamp Act

There was a general desire that Pitt should return to office; but the negotiations for his union with the Whigs broke down. The radical difference between their policy and that of Pitt was now in fact defined for them by the keenest political thinker of the day. Edmund Burke had come to London in 1750 as a poor and unknown Irish adventurer. The learning which at once won him the friendship of Johnson, and the imaginative power which enabled

Edmund Burke

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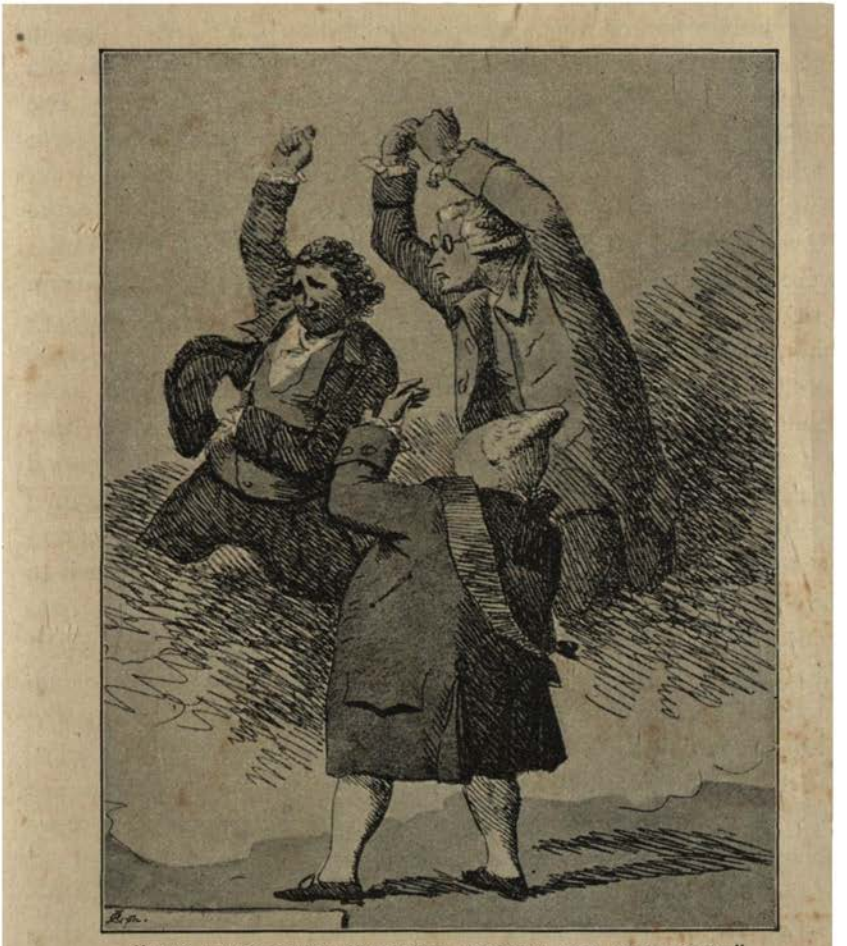
him to give his learning a living shape, promised him a philosophical and literary career: but instinct drew Burke to politics; he became secretary to Lord Rockingham, and in 1765 entered Parliament under his patronage. His speeches on the Stamp Acts at once lifted him into fame. The heavy Quaker-like figure, the scratch wig, the round spectacles, the cumbrous roll of paper which loaded Burke's pocket, gave little promise of a great orator and less of the characteristics of his oratory—its passionate ardour, its poetic fancy, its amazing prodigality of resources; the dazzling succession in which irony, pathos, invective, tenderness, the most brilliant word-pictures, the coolest argument followed each other. It was an eloquence indeed of a wholly new order in English experience. Walpole's clearness of statement, Pitt's appeals to emotion, were exchanged for the impassioned expression of a distinct philosophy of politics. "I have learned more from him than from all the books I ever read," Fox cried at a later time, with a burst of generous admiration. The philosophical cast of Burke's reasoning was unaccompanied by any philosophical coldness of tone or phrase. The groundwork indeed of his nature was poetic. His ideas, if conceived by the reason, took shape and colour from the splendour and fire of his imagination. A nation was to him a great living society, so complex in its relations, and whose institutions were so interwoven with glorious events in the past, that to touch it rudely was a sacrilege. Its constitution was no artificial scheme of government, but an exquisite balance of social forces which was in itself a natural outcome of its history and developement. His temper was in this way conservative, but his conservatism sprang not from a love of inaction but from a sense of

BURKE AS ORATOR.
Satirical sketch by Sayer, 1782.

the value of social order, and from an imaginative reverence for all that existed. Every institution was hallowed to him by the clear insight with which he discerned its relations to the past, and its subtle connexion with the social fabric around it. To touch even



"THE ASTONISHING COALITION—NEITHER WAR NOR PEACE."
Satire on Burke, Fox and North, by J. Gillray, 1783.

an anomaly seemed to Burke to be risking the ruin of a complex structure of national order which it had cost centuries to build up. "The equilibrium of the Constitution," he said, "has something so delicate about it, that the least displacement may destroy it." "It is a difficult and dangerous matter even to touch so complicated a

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Burke and politics

machine." Perhaps the readiest refutation of such a theory was to be found in its influence on Burke's practical dealing with politics. In the great question indeed which fronted him as he entered Parliament, it served him well. No man has ever seen with deeper insight the working of those natural forces which build up communities, or which group communities into empires; and in the actual state of the American Colonies he saw a result of such forces which only madmen and pedants would disturb. But Burke's theory was less fitted to the state of politics at home. He looked on the Revolution of 1688 as the final establishment of English institutions. His aim was to keep England as the Revolution had left it, and under the rule of the great nobles who were faithful to the Revolution. He gave his passionate adhesion to the inaction of the Whigs. He made an idol of Lord Rockingham, an honest man, but the weakest of party leaders. He strove to check the corruption of Parliament by a bill for civil retrenchment, but he took the lead in defeating all plans for its reform. Though he was one of the few men in England who understood with Pitt the value of free industry, he struggled bitterly against the young Minister's proposals to give freedom to Irish trade, and against his Commercial Treaty with France. His work seemed to be that of investing with a gorgeous poetry the policy of timid content which the Whigs believed they inherited from Sir Robert Walpole; and the very intensity of his trust in the natural developement of a people rendered him incapable of understanding the good that might come from particular laws or from special reforms. At this crisis then the temper of Burke squared with the temper of the Whig party. Rockingham and his fellow-ministers were driven, whether they would or no, to a practical acknowledgement of the policy which Pitt demanded; but they resolved that the repeal of the Stamp Acts should be accompanied by a formal repudiation of the principles of colonial freedom which Pitt had laid down. A declaratory act was brought in, which asserted the supreme power of Parliament over the Colonies "in all cases whatsoever." The passing of this act was followed by the introduction of a bill for the repeal of the Stamp Acts; and in spite of the resistance of the King's friends, a resistance instigated by George himself, the bill was carried by a large majority.

Feb. 1766

From this moment the Ministry was unable to stand against the general sense that the first man in the country should be its ruler, and bitter as was the King's hatred of him, he was forced to call Pitt into office. Pitt's aim was still to unite the Whig party, and though forsaken by Lord Temple, he succeeded to a great extent in the administration which he formed in the summer of 1766. Though Rockingham stood coldly aside, some of his fellow ministers accepted office, and they were reinforced by the few friends who clung to Pitt; while Pitt stooped to strengthen his Parliamentary support by admitting some even of the "King's friends" to a share in the administration. But its life lay really in Pitt himself, in his immense popularity, and in the command which his eloquence gave him over the House of Commons. His acceptance of the Earldom of Chatham removed him to the House of Lords, and for a while ruined the confidence which his reputation for unselfishness had aided him to win. But it was from no vulgar ambition that Pitt laid down his title of the Great Commoner. It was the consciousness of failing strength which made him dread the storms of debate, and in a few months the dread became a certainty. A painful and overwhelming illness, the result of nervous disorganization, withdrew him from public affairs; and his withdrawal robbed his colleagues of all vigour or union. The plans which Chatham had set on foot for the better government of Ireland, the transfer of India from the Company to the Crown, and the formation of an alliance with Prussia and Russia to balance the Family Compact of the House of Bourbon, were suffered to drop. The one aim of the ministry which bore his name, and which during his retirement looked to the Duke of Grafton as its actual head, was simply to exist. But even existence was difficult; and Grafton saw himself forced to a union with the faction which was gathered under the Duke of Bedford, and to the appointment of a Tory noble as Secretary of State.

The Chatham Ministry

1766

1767

The force of public opinion on which Pitt had relied turned at once against the ministry which had so drifted from its former position. The elections for the new Parliament were more corrupt than any that had been yet witnessed. How bitter the indignation of the country had grown was seen in its fresh backing of Wilkes. He seized on the opening afforded by the elections to return from

Wilkes and the Parliament

JOHN WILKES BEFORE THE COURT OF KING'S BENCH.
Gentleman's Magazine, 1768.

France, and was elected member for Middlesex, a county the large number of whose voters made its choice a real expression of public opinion. The choice of Wilkes was in effect a public condemnation of the House of Commons and the ministerial system. The ministry however and the House alike shrank from a fresh struggle with the agitator; but the King was eager for the contest. After ten years of struggle and disappointment George had all but reached his aim. The two forces which had as yet worsted him were both of them paralyzed. The Whigs were fatally divided, and discredited in the eyes of the country by their antagonism to Pitt. Pitt, on the other hand, was suddenly removed from the stage. The ministry was without support in the country; and for Parliamentary support it was forced to lean more and more on the men who looked for direction to the King himself. One form of opposition alone remained in the public discontent; and at this he struck more fiercely than ever. "I think it highly expedient to apprise you," he wrote to Lord North, "that the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes appears to be very essential, and must be effected." The Ministers and the House of Commons bowed to his will. By his non-appearance in court when charged with libel, Wilkes had become an outlaw, and he was now thrown into prison on his outlawry. Dangerous riots broke out in London and over the whole country. The Ministry were torn with dissensions. The announcement of Lord Shelburne's purpose to resign office was followed by the resignation of Chatham himself; and his withdrawal from the Cabinet which traded on his name left the Ministry wholly dependent on the King. In 1769 Wilkes was brought before the bar of the House of Commons on a charge of libel, a crime which was cognizable in the ordinary courts of law; and was expelled from Parliament. He was at once re-elected by the shire of Middlesex. Violent and oppressive as the course of the House of Commons had been, it had as yet acted within its strict right, for no one questioned its possession of a right of expulsion. But the defiance of Middlesex led it now to go further. It resolved, "That Mr. Wilkes having been in this session of Parliament expelled the House, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in the present Parliament;" and it issued a writ for a fresh election. Middlesex answered this insolent claim to

Resignation of Chatham 1768

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limit the free choice of a constituency by again returning Wilkes; and the House was driven by its anger to a fresh and more outrageous usurpation. It again expelled the member for Middlesex; and on his return for the third time by an immense majority, it voted that the candidate whom he had defeated, Colonel Luttrell, ought to have been returned, and was the legal representative of Middlesex. The Commons had not only limited at their own arbitrary discretion the free election of the constituency, but they had transferred its rights to themselves by seating Luttrell as member in defiance of the deliberate choice of Wilkes by the freeholders of Middlesex. The country at once rose indignantly against this violation of constitutional law. Wilkes was elected

Wilkes expelled

FRONTISPIECE TO MIDDLESEX PETITION, 1769.

an Alderman of London; and the Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery petitioned the King to dissolve the Parliament. A remonstrance from London and Westminster said boldly that "there is a time when it is clearly demonstrable that men cease to be representatives. That time is now arrived. The House of Commons do not represent the people." Meanwhile a writer who styled himself Junius attacked the Government in letters, which, rancorous and unscrupulous as was their tone, gave a new power to the literature of the Press by their clearness and terseness of statement, the finish of their style, and the terrible vigour of their invective.

Parliament and Reform

The storm however beat idly on the obstinacy of the King. The printer of the letters was prosecuted, and the petitions and

remonstrances of London were haughtily rejected. At the beginning of 1770 a cessation of the disease which had long held him prostrate enabled Chatham to reappear in the House of Lords. He at once denounced the usurpations of the Commons, and brought in a bill to declare them illegal. But his genius made him the first to see that remedies of this sort were inadequate to meet evils which really sprang from the fact that the House of Commons no longer represented the people of England; and he mooted a plan for its reform by an increase of the county members, who then formed the most independent portion of the House. Further he could not go, for even in the proposals he made he stood almost alone. The Tories and the King's friends were not likely to welcome schemes which would lessen the King's influence. The Whigs under Lord Rockingham had no sympathy with Parliamentary reform; and they shrank with haughty disdain from the popular agitation in which public opinion was forced to express itself, and which Chatham, while censuring its extravagance, deliberately encouraged. It is from the quarrel between Wilkes and the House of Commons that

BECKFORD'S MONUMENT IN THE GUILDHALL.

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we may date the influence of public meetings on English politics. The gatherings of the Middlesex electors in his support were preludes to the great meetings of Yorkshire freeholders in which the question of Parliamentary reform rose into importance; and it was in the movement for reform, and the establishment of corresponding committees throughout the country for the purpose of promoting it, that the power of political agitation first made itself felt. Political societies and clubs took their part in this quickening and organization of public opinion: and the spread of discussion, as well as the influence which now began to be exercised by the appearance of vast numbers of men in support of any political movement, proved that Parliament would soon have to reckon with the sentiments of the people at large.

Power of the Press

But an agent far more effective than popular agitation was preparing to bring the force of public opinion to bear on Parliament itself. We have seen how much of the corruption of the House of Commons sprang from the secrecy of Parliamentary proceedings, but this secrecy was the harder to preserve as the nation woke to a greater interest in its own affairs. From the accession of the Georges imperfect reports of the more important discussions began to be published under the title of "The Senate of Lilliput," and with feigned names or simple initials to denote the speakers. Obtained by stealth and often merely recalled by memory, such reports were naturally inaccurate; and their inaccuracy was eagerly seized on as a pretext for enforcing the rules which guarded the secrecy of proceedings in Parliament. In 1771 the Commons issued a proclamation forbidding the publication of debates; and six printers, who set it at defiance, were summoned to the bar of the House. One who refused to appear was arrested by its messenger; but the arrest at once brought the House into conflict with the magistrates of London. They set aside the proclamation as without legal force, released the printers, and sent the messenger to prison for unlawful arrest. The House sent the Lord Mayor to the Tower, but the cheers of the crowds which followed him on his way told that public opinion was again with the Press, and the attempt to hinder its publication of Parliamentary proceedings dropped silently on his release at the next

prorogation. Few changes of equal importance have been so quietly brought about. Not only was the responsibility of members to their constituents made constant and effective by the publication of their proceedings, but the nation itself was called in to assist in the deliberations of its representatives. A new and wider interest in its own affairs was roused in the people at large, and a new political education was given to it through the discussion of every subject of national importance in the Houses and the Press. Public opinion, as gathered up and represented on all its sides by the journals of the day, became a force in practical statesmanship, influenced the course of debates, and controlled in a closer and more constant way than even Parliament itself had been able to do the actions of the Government. The importance of its new position gave a weight to the Press which it had never had before. The first great English journals date from this time. With the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Morning Post*, the *Morning Herald*, and the *Times*, all of which appeared in the interval between the opening years of the American War and the beginning of the war with the French Revolution, journalism took a new tone of responsibility and intelligence. The hacks of Grub Street were superseded by publicists of a high moral temper and literary excellence; and philosophers like Coleridge or

"A POLITICIAN."
After W. Hogarth.

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George III. and America

statesmen like Canning turned to influence public opinion through the columns of the Press.

But as yet these influences were feebly felt, and George the Third was able to set Chatham's policy disdainfully aside, and to plunge into a contest far more disastrous than his contest with the Press. In all the proceedings of the last few years, what had galled him most had been the act which averted a war between England and her colonies. To the King the Americans were already "rebels," and the great statesman whose eloquence had

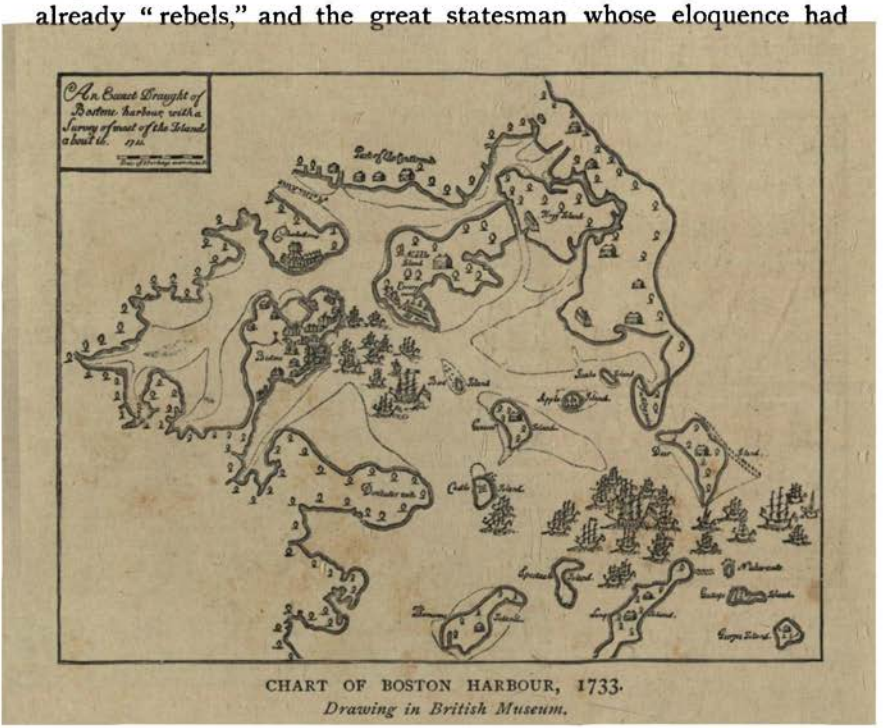
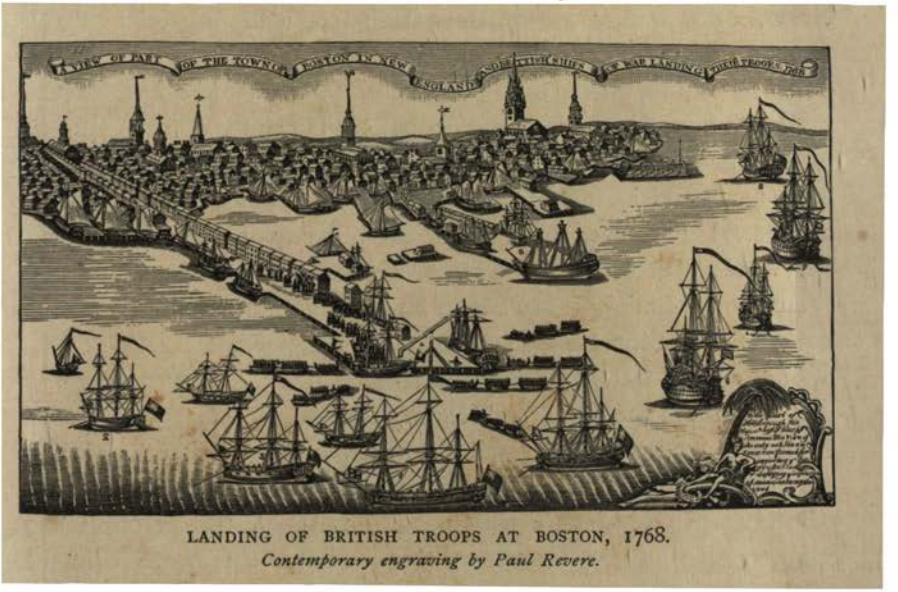


CHART OF BOSTON HARBOUR, 1733.
Drawing in British Museum.

made their claims irresistible was a "trumpet of sedition." George deplored in his correspondence with his ministers the repeal of the Stamp Acts. "All men feel," he wrote, "that the fatal compliance in 1766 has increased the pretensions of the Americans to absolute independence." In America itself the news of the repeal had been received with universal joy, and taken as a close of the strife. But on both sides there remained a pride and irritability which only wise handling could have allayed; and in the present state of English politics wise handling was

impossible. Only a few months indeed passed before the quarrel was re-opened; for no sooner had the illness of Lord Chatham removed him in 1767 from any real share in public affairs, than the wretched administration which bore his name suspended the Assembly of New York on its refusal to provide quarters for English troops, and resolved to assert British sovereignty by levying import duties of trivial amount at American ports. The Assembly of Massachusetts was dissolved on a trifling quarrel with its Governor, and Boston was occupied for a time by British soldiers. The remonstrances of the Legislatures of Massachusetts



LANDING OF BRITISH TROOPS AT BOSTON, 1768.
Contemporary engraving by Paul Revere.

and Virginia, however, coupled with a fall in the funds, warned the Ministers of the dangerous course on which they had entered; and in 1769 the troops were withdrawn, and all duties, save one, abandoned. But the King insisted on retaining the duty on tea; and its retention was enough to prevent any thorough restoration of good feeling. A series of petty quarrels went on in almost every colony between the popular Assemblies and the Governors appointed by the Crown, and the colonists persisted in their agreement to import nothing from the mother country. As yet however there was no prospect of serious strife. In America the influence of George Washington allayed the irritation of Virginia.

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Massachusetts contented itself with quarrelling with its Governor, and refusing to buy tea so long as the duty was levied. In England, even Grenville, though approving the retention of the duty in question, abandoned all dream of further taxation.

The King's Ministry

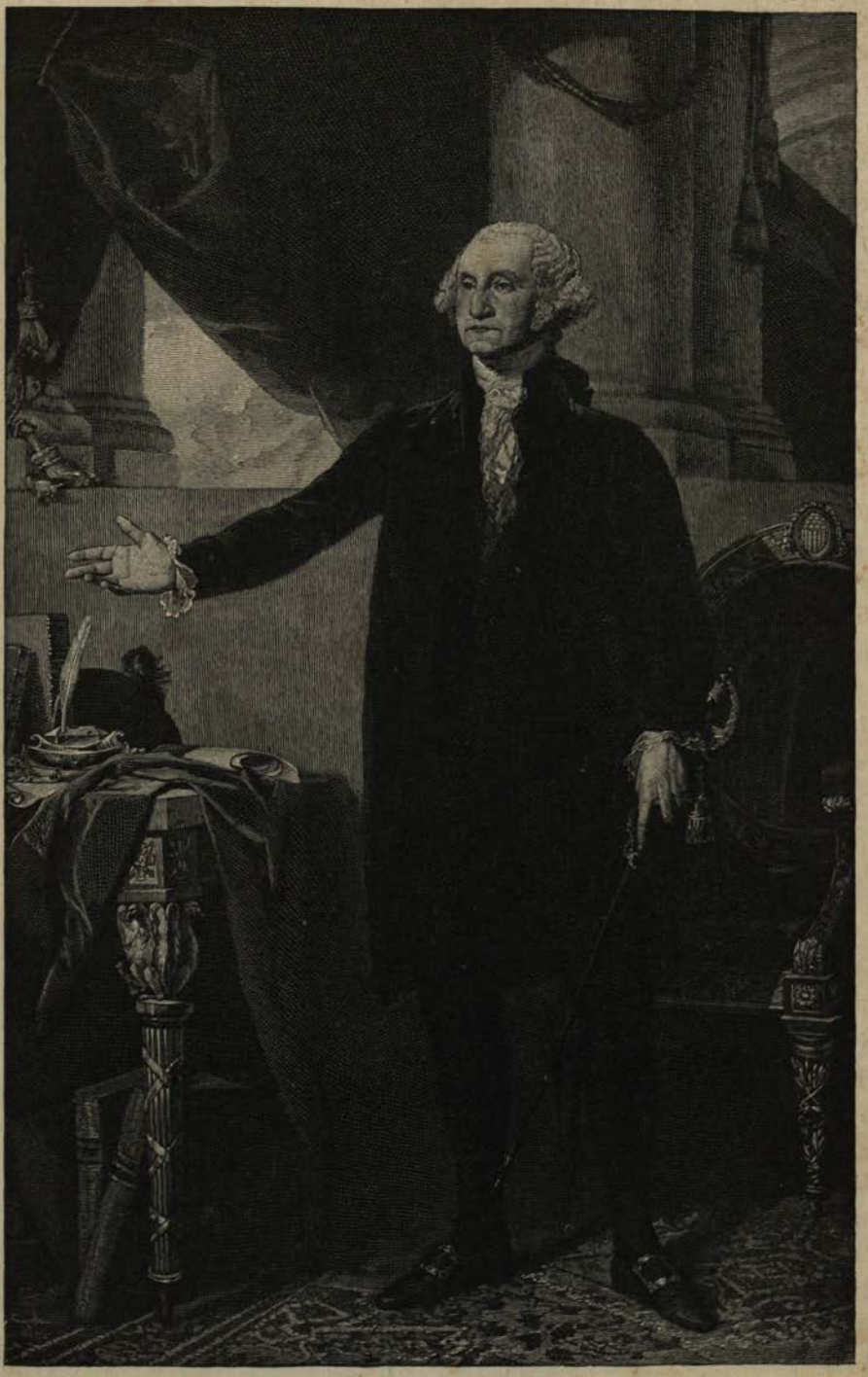
But the King was now supreme. The attack of Chatham in 1770 had completed the ruin of the Ministry. Those of his adherents who still clung to it resigned their posts; and were followed by the Duke of Grafton. All that remained were the Bedford faction and the dependents of the King; these were gathered under the former Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord North, into a ministry which was in fact a mere cloak for the direction of public affairs by George himself. "Not only did he direct the minister," a careful observer tells us, "in all important matters of foreign and domestic policy, but he instructed him as to the management of debates in Parliament, suggested what motions should be made or opposed, and how measures should be carried. He reserved for himself all the patronage, he arranged the whole cast of administration, settled the relative place and pretensions of ministers of State, law officers, and members of the household, nominated and promoted the English and Scotch judges, appointed and translated bishops and deans, and dispensed other preferments in the Church. He disposed of military governments, regiments, and commissions, and himself ordered the marching of troops. He gave and refused titles, honours, and pensions." All this immense patronage was steadily used for the creation and maintenance in both Houses of Parliament of a majority directed by the King himself; and its weight was seen in the steady action of such a majority. It was seen yet more in the subjection to which the ministry that bore North's name was reduced. George was in fact the minister through the twelve years of its existence, from 1770 till the close of the American war; and the shame of the darkest hour of English history lies wholly at his door.

The Boston Tea-Riots

His fixed purpose was to seize on the first opportunity of undoing the "fatal compliance of 1766." A trivial riot gave him the handle he wanted. In December 1773 the arrival of some English ships laden with tea kindled fresh irritation in Boston, where the non-importation agreement was strictly enforced. A mob in the disguise of Indians boarded the vessels and flung their

contents into the sea. The outrage was deplored alike by the friends of America in England and by its own leading statesmen; and both Washington and Chatham were prepared to support the Government in its looked-for demand of redress. But the thought of the King was not of redress but of repression, and he set roughly aside the more conciliatory proposals of Lord North and his fellow-ministers. They had already rejected as "frivolous and vexatious" a petition of the Assembly of Massachusetts for the dismissal of two public officers whose letters home advised the withdrawal of free institutions from the Colonies. They now seized on the riot as a pretext for rigorous measures. A bill introduced into Parliament in the beginning of 1774 punished Boston by closing its port against all commerce. Another punished the State of Massachusetts by withdrawing the liberties it had enjoyed ever since the Pilgrim Fathers landed on its soil. Its charter was altered. The choice of its Council was transferred from the people to the Crown, and the nomination of its judges was transferred to the Governor. In the Governor, too, by a provision more outrageous than even these, was vested the right of sending all persons charged with a share in the late disturbances to England for trial. To enforce these measures of repression troops were sent to America, and General Gage, the commander-in-chief there, was appointed Governor of Massachusetts. The King's exultation at the prospect before him was unbounded. "The die," he wrote triumphantly to his minister, "is cast. The Colonies must either triumph or submit." Four regiments would be enough to bring the Americans to their senses. They would only be "lions while we are lambs." "If we take the resolute part," he decided solemnly, "they will undoubtedly be very meek." Unluckily, the blow at Massachusetts was received with anything but meekness. The jealousies between State and State were hushed by the sense that the liberties of all were in danger. If the British Parliament could cancel the charter of Massachusetts and ruin the trade of Boston, it could cancel the charter of every colony and ruin the trade of every port from the St. Lawrence to the coast of Georgia. All therefore adopted the cause of Massachusetts; and all their Legislatures, save that of Georgia, sent delegates to a Congress which assembled on the 4th of September at Philadelphia. Massachusetts took a yet bolder

Resistance of America



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Picture by Gilbert Stuart, in possession of the Earl of Rosebery.

course. Not a citizen would act under the new laws. Its Assembly met in defiance of the Governor, called out the militia of the State, and provided arms and ammunition for it. But there was still room for reconciliation. The resolutions of the Congress had been moderate; for Virginia was the wealthiest and most influential among the States who sent delegates; and though resolute to resist the new measures of the Government, Virginia still clung to the mother country. At home, the merchants of London and Bristol pleaded loudly for reconciliation; and in January 1775 Chatham again came forward to avert a strife he had once before succeeded in preventing. With characteristic largeness of feeling he set aside all half-measures or proposals of compromise. "It is not cancelling a piece of parchment," he insisted, "that can win back America: you must respect her fears and her resentments." The bill which he introduced in concert with Franklin provided for the repeal of the late acts and for the security of the colonial charters, abandoned the claim to taxation, and ordered the recall of the troops. A colonial assembly was directed to meet and provide means by which America might contribute towards the payment of the public debt.

The Independence of America

Chatham's measure was contemptuously rejected by the Lords, as was a similar measure of Burke's by the Commons, and a petition of the City of London in favour of the Colonies by the King himself. With the rejection of these efforts at reconciliation began the great struggle which ended eight years later in the severance of the American Colonies from the British Crown. The Congress of delegates from the Colonial Legislatures at once voted measures for general defence, ordered the levy of an army, and set George Washington at its head. No nobler figure ever stood in the forefront of a nation's life. Washington was grave and courteous in address; his manners were simple and unpretending, his silence and the serene calmness of his temper spoke of a perfect self-mastery; but there was little in his outer bearing to reveal the grandeur of soul which lifts his figure, with all the simple majesty of an ancient statue, out of the smaller passions, the meaner impulses of the world around him. What recommended him for command was simply his weight among his fellow landowners of Virginia, and the experience of war which

George Washington

he had gained by service in border contests with the French and the Indians, as well as in Braddock's luckless expedition against Fort Duquesne. It was only as the weary fight went on that the colonists learned little by little the greatness of their leader, his clear judgement, his heroic endurance, his silence under difficulties, his calmness in the hour of danger or defeat, the patience with which he waited, the quickness and hardness with which he struck, the lofty and serene sense of duty that never swerved from its task

AMERICAN RIFLEMAN. AMERICAN GENERAL.

E. Barnard, "History of England," 1790.

through resentment or jealousy, that never through war or peace felt the touch of a meaner ambition, that knew no aim save that of guarding the freedom of his fellow countrymen, and no personal longing save that of returning to his own fireside when their freedom was secured. It was almost unconsciously that men learned to cling to Washington with a trust and faith such as few other men have won, and to regard him with a reverence which still hushes us in presence of his memory. Even America hardly

recognised his real greatness till death set its seal on "the man first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow countrymen." Washington more than any of his fellow colonists represented the clinging of the Virginian landowners to the mother-country, and his acceptance of the command proved that even the most moderate among them had no hope now save in arms. The struggle opened with a skirmish between a party of English troops and a detachment of militia at Lexington, and in a few days twenty thousand colonists appeared before Boston. The Congress

Opening of the war
April 1775

ATTACK ON BUNKER'S HILL AND BURNING OF CHARLESTOWN.
Barnard, "History of England," 1790.

re-assembled, declared the States they represented "The United Colonies of America," and undertook the work of government. Meanwhile ten thousand fresh troops landed at Boston; but the provincial militia seized the neck of ground which joins it to the mainland, and though they were driven from the heights of Bunker's Hill which commanded the town, it was only after a desperate struggle in which their bravery put an end for ever to the taunts of cowardice which had been levelled against the colonists. "Are the Yankees cowards?" shouted the men of

June 17

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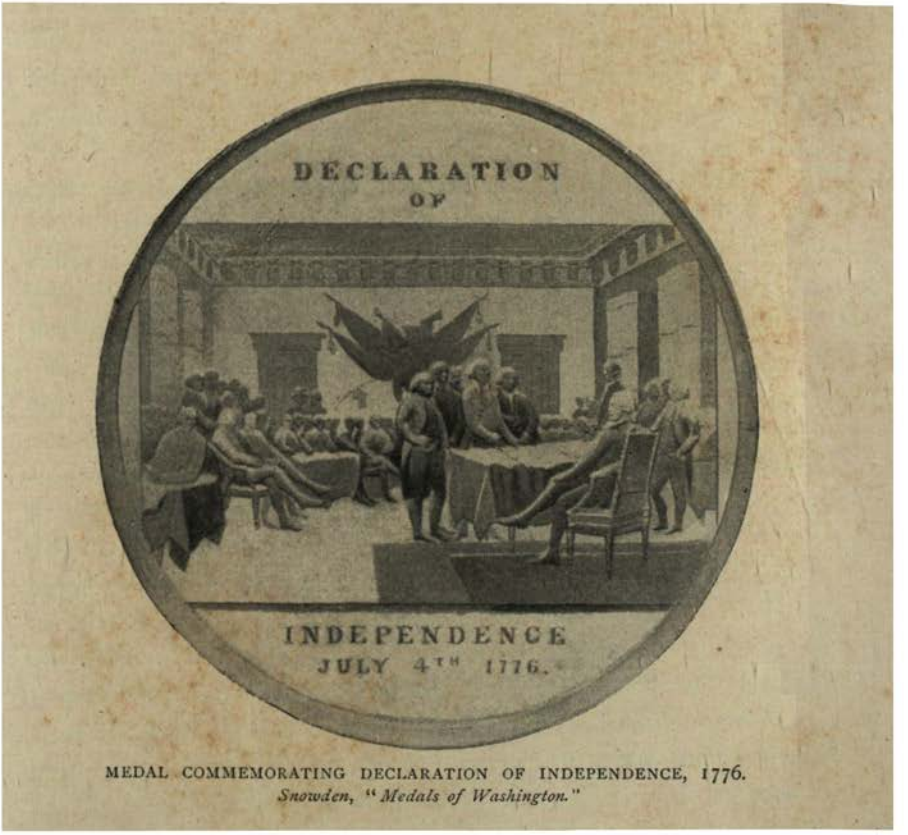
Massachusetts, as the first English attack rolled back baffled down the hill-side. But a far truer courage was shown in the stubborn endurance with which Washington's raw militiamen, who gradually dwindled from sixteen thousand to ten, ill fed, ill armed, and with but forty-five rounds of ammunition to each man, cooped up through the winter a force of ten thousand veterans in the lines of Boston. The spring of 1776 saw them force these troops to withdraw from the city to New York, where the whole British army, largely reinforced by mercenaries from Germany, was

MEDAL COMMEMORATING SIEGE OF BOSTON, 1776.
(Reverse.)

concentrated under General Howe. Meanwhile a raid of the American General, Arnold, nearly drove the British troops from Canada; and though his attempt broke down before Quebec, it showed that all hope of reconciliation was over. The Colonies of the south, the last to join in the struggle, had in fact expelled their Governors at the close of 1775; at the opening of the next year Massachusetts instructed its delegates to support a complete repudiation of the King's government by the Colonies; while the American ports were thrown open to the world in defiance of the

Navigation Acts. These decisive steps were followed by the great act with which American history begins, the adoption on the 4th of July, 1776, by the delegates in Congress of a Declaration of Independence. "We," ran its solemn words, "the representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, solemnly publish and declare that these United

Declaration of Independence



MEDAL COMMEMORATING DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, 1776.
Snowden, "Medals of Washington."

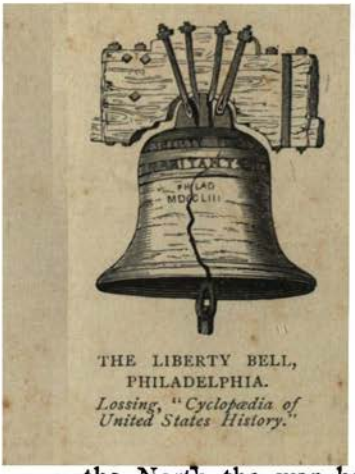
Colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States."

The earlier successes of the Colonists were soon followed by suffering and defeat. Howe, an active general with a fine army at his back, cleared Long Island in August by a victory at Brooklyn; and Washington, whose army was weakened by withdrawals and defeat, and disheartened by the loyal tone of the State in which it

Death of Chatham

Sec. II
The Independence of America 1761 to 1782

was encamped, was forced to evacuate New York and New Jersey, and to fall back first on the Hudson and then on the Delaware. The Congress prepared to fly from Philadelphia, and a general despair showed itself in cries of peace. But a well-managed surprise and a daring march on the rear of Howe's army restored the spirits of Washington's men, and forced the English general in his turn to fall back on New York. The campaign of 1777 opened with a combined effort for the suppression of the revolt. An army assembled in Canada under General Burgoyne marched by way of the Lakes to seize the line of the Hudson, and with help from the army at New York to cut off New England from her sister provinces. Howe meanwhile sailed up the Chesapeake, and advanced on Philadelphia, the temporary capital of the United States and the seat of the Congress. The rout of his little army of seven thousand men at Brandywine forced Washington to abandon Philadelphia, and, after a bold but unsuccessful attack on his victors, to retire into winter quarters on the banks of the Schuylkill; where the unconquerable resolve with which he nerved his handful of beaten and half-starved troops to face Howe's army in their camp at Valley Forge is the noblest of his triumphs. But in the North the war had taken another colour. When Burgoyne appeared on the Upper Hudson he found the road to Albany barred by an American force under General Gates. The spirit of New England, which had grown dull as the war rolled away from its borders, quickened again at the news of invasion and of the outrages committed by the Indians whom Burgoyne employed among his troops. Its militia hurried from town and homestead to the camp; and after a fruitless attack on the American lines, Burgoyne saw himself surrounded on the heights of Saratoga. On the 17th of October he was compelled to surrender. The news of this calamity gave force to the words with which Chatham at the very time of the surrender was pressing for peace. "You cannot conquer America," he cried when men were glorying in Howe's



THE LIBERTY BELL, PHILADELPHIA.
Lossing, "Cyclopædia of United States History."

Saratoga

successes. "If I were an American as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—never, never, never!" Then in a burst of indignant eloquence he thundered against the use of the Indian and his scalping-knife as allies of England against her children. The proposals which Chatham brought forward might perhaps, in his hands, even yet have drawn America and the mother country together. His plan was one of absolute conciliation, and of a federal union between the settlements and Great Britain which would have left the Colonies absolutely their own masters in all matters of internal government, and linked only by ties of affection and loyalty to the general body of the Empire. But it met with the same fate as his previous proposals. Its rejection was at once followed by the news of Saratoga, and by the yet more fatal news that this disaster had roused the Bourbon Courts to avenge the humiliation of the Seven Years' War. In February 1778 France concluded an alliance with the States. Lord North strove to meet the blow by fresh offers of conciliation, and by a pledge to renounce for ever the right of direct taxation over the Colonies; but he felt that the time for conciliation was past, while all hope of reducing America by force of arms had disappeared. George indeed was as obstinate for war as ever; and the country, stung to the quick by the attack of France, backed passionately the obstinacy of the King. But unlike George the Third, it instinctively felt that if a hope still remained of retaining the friendship of the Colonies, and of baffling the efforts of the Bourbons, it lay in Lord Chatham; and in spite of the King's resistance the voice of the whole country called him back to power. But on the eve of his return to office this last chance was shattered by the hand of death. Broken with age and disease, the Earl was borne to the House of Lords to utter in a few broken words his protest against the proposal to surrender America. "I rejoice," he murmured, "that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and noble monarchy. His Majesty succeeded to an Empire as great in extent as its reputation was unsullied. Seventeen years ago this people was the terror of the world." He listened impatiently to the reply of the Duke of Richmond, and again rose to his feet. But he had hardly risen when he pressed

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Chatham's proposals

April 7

THE DEATH OF CHATHAM.

Picture by J. S. Copley, 1779, in the National Gallery.

his hand upon his heart, and falling back in a swoon was borne home to die.

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Progress of the War

From the hour of Chatham's death England entered on a conflict with enemies whose circle gradually widened till she stood single-handed against the world. At the close of 1778 Spain joined the league of France and America against her; and in the next year the joint fleets of the two powers rode the masters of the Channel. They even threatened a descent on the English coast. But dead as Chatham was, his cry woke a new life in England. "Shall we fall prostrate," he exclaimed with his last breath, "before the House of Bourbon?" and the divisions which had broken the nation in its struggle with American liberty were hushed in the presence of this danger to its own existence. The weakness of the Ministry was compensated by the energy of England itself. For three years, from 1779 to 1782, General Eliott held against famine and bombardment the rock fortress of Gibraltar. Although a quarrel over the right of search banded Holland and the Courts of the North in an armed neutrality against her, and added the Dutch fleet to the number of her assailants, England held her own at sea. Even in America the fortune of the war seemed to turn. After Burgoyne's surrender the English generals had withdrawn from Pennsylvania, and bent all their efforts on the South where a strong Royalist party still existed. The capture of Charlestown and the successes of Lord Cornwallis in 1780 were rendered fruitless by the obstinate resistance of General Greene: but the States were weakened by bankruptcy, and unnerved by hopes of aid from France. Meanwhile England was winning new triumphs in the East.

England and India

Since the day of Plassey, India had been fast passing into the hands of the merchant company whose traders but a few years before held only three petty factories along its coast. The victory which laid Bengal at the feet of Clive had been followed in 1760 by a victory at Wandewash, in which Colonel Coote's defeat of Lally, the French Governor of Pondicherry, established British supremacy over Southern India. The work of organization had soon to follow on that of conquest; for the tyranny and corruption of the merchant-clerks who suddenly found themselves lifted into rulers was fast ruining the province of Bengal; and although Clive had profited more than any other by the spoils of his victory, he

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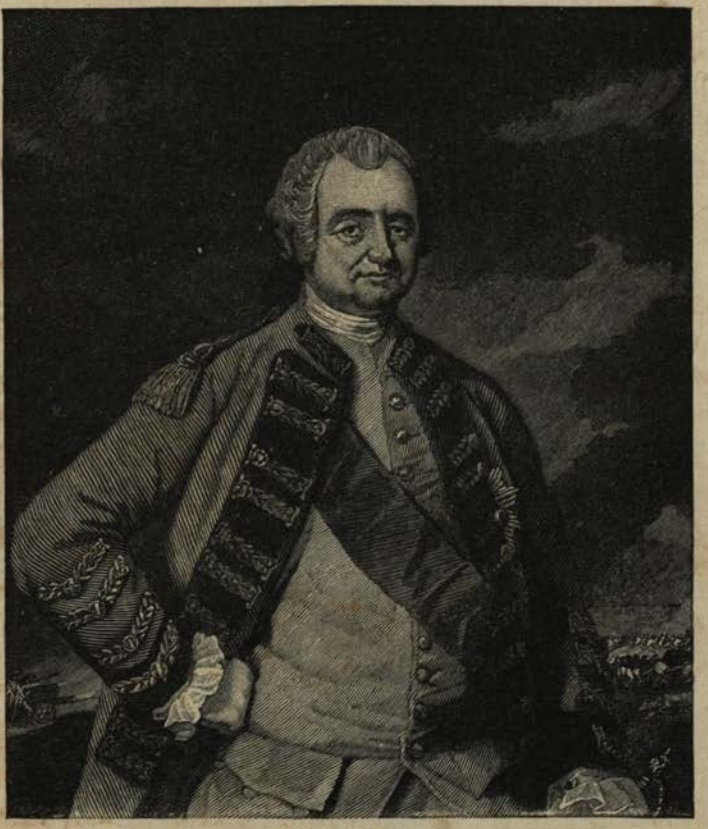
saw that the time had come when greed must give way to the responsibilities of power. In 1765 he returned to India, and the two years of his rule were in fact the most glorious years in his life. In the teeth of opposition from every clerk and of mutiny throughout the army, he put down the private trading of the Company's servants and forbade their acceptance of gifts from the natives.



LORD CLIVE.
From an engraving by Bartolozzi, after the picture by Nathaniel Dance.

Clive set an example of disinterestedness by handing over to public uses a legacy which had been left him by the prince he had raised to the throne of Bengal; and returned poorer than he went to face the storm his acts had roused among those who were interested in Indian abuses at home. His unsparing denunciations of the misgovernment of Bengal at last stirred even Lord North to interfere;

and when the financial distress of the Company drove it for aid to Government, the grant of aid was coupled with measures of administrative reform. The Regulating Act of 1773 established a Governor-General and a Supreme Court of Judicature for all British possessions in India, prohibited judges and members of Council from trading, forbade any receipt of presents from natives, and ordered that every act of the Directors should be signified to the Government to be approved or disallowed. The new interest which had been aroused in the subject of India was seen in an investigation of the whole question of its administration by a Committee of the House of Commons. Clive's own early acts were examined with unsparing severity. His bitter complaint in the Lords that, Baron of Plassey as he was, he had been arraigned like a sheep-stealer, failed to prevent the passing of resolutions which censured the corruption and treachery of the early days of British rule in India. Here, however, the justice of the House stopped. When his accusers passed from the censure of Indian misgovernment to the censure of Clive himself, the memory of his great deeds won from the House of Commons a unanimous vote, "That Robert Lord Clive did at the same time render great and meritorious services to his country."

Warren Hastings.

By the act of 1773 Warren Hastings was named Governor-General of Bengal, with powers of superintendence and control over the other presidencies. Hastings was sprung of a noble family which had long fallen into decay, and poverty had driven him in boyhood to accept a writership in the Company's service. Clive, whose quick eye discerned his merits, drew him after Plassey into political life; and the administrative ability he showed, during the disturbed period which followed, raised him step by step to the post of Governor of Bengal. No man could have been better fitted to discharge the duties of the new office which the Government at home had created without a thought of its real greatness. Hastings was gifted with rare powers of organization and control. His first measure was to establish the direct rule of the Company over Bengal by abolishing the government of its native princes, which, though it had become nominal, hindered all plans for effective administration. The Nabob sank into a pensionary, and the Company's new province was roughly but efficiently organized.

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Out of the clerks and traders about him Hastings formed that body of public servants which still remains the noblest product of our rule in India. The system of law and finance which he devised, hasty and imperfect as it necessarily was, was far superior to any

WARREN HASTINGS.
From a mezzotint by T. Watson (1777), after Sir J. Reynolds.

that India had ever seen. Corruption he put down with as firm a hand as Clive's, but he won the love of the new "civilians" as he won the love of the Hindoos. Although he raised the revenue of Bengal and was able to send home every year a surplus of half a million to the Company, he did this without laying a fresh burden

on the natives or losing their good will. His government was guided by an intimate knowledge of and sympathy with the people. At a time when their tongue was looked on simply as a medium of trade and business, Hastings was skilled in the languages of India; he was versed in native customs, and familiar with native feeling. We can hardly wonder that his popularity with the Bengalees was such as no later ruler has ever attained, or that after a century of great events Indian mothers still hush their infants with the name of Warren Hastings.

India in the American War

As yet, though English influence was great in the south, Bengal alone was directly in English hands. Warren Hastings recognized a formidable danger to the power of Britain in that of the Mahrattas, freebooters of Hindoo blood whose tribes had for a century past carried their raids over India from the hills of the western coast, and founded sovereignties in Guzerat, Malwa, and Tanjore, and who were bound by a slight tie of subjection to the Mahratta chief who reigned at Poonah. The policy of Hastings was to prevent the Mahrattas from over-running the whole of India, and taking the place which the Mogul Emperors had occupied. He bound native princes, as in Oudh or Berar, by treaties and subsidies, crushed without scruple the Rohillas to strengthen his ally the Nabob Vizier of Oudh, and watched with incessant jealousy the growth of powers even as distant as the Sikhs. The jealousy of France sought in the Mahrattas a counterpoise to the power of Britain, and through their chieftain the French envoys were able to set the whole confederacy in motion against the English presidencies. The danger was met by Hastings with characteristic swiftness of resolve. His difficulties were great. For two years he had been rendered powerless through the opposition of his Council; and when freed from this obstacle the Company pressed him incessantly for money, and the Crown more than once strove to recall him. His own general, Sir Eyre Coote, was miserly, capricious, and had to be humoured like a child. Censures and complaints reached him with every mail. But his calm self-command never failed. No trace of his embarrassment showed itself in his work. The war with the Mahrattas was pressed with a tenacity of purpose which the blunders of subordinates and the inefficiency of the soldiers he was forced to use

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never shook for a moment. Failure followed failure, and success had hardly been wrung from fortune when a new and overwhelming danger threatened from the south. A military adventurer, Hyder Ali, had built up a compact and vigorous empire out of the wreck of older principalities on the table-land of Mysore. Tyrant as he was, no native rule was so just as Hyder's, no statesmanship so vigorous. He was quickwitted enough to discern the real power of Britain, and only the wretched blundering of the Council of Madras forced him at last to the conclusion that war with the English was less dangerous than friendship with them. Old as he was, his generalship retained all its energy; and a disciplined army, covered by a cloud of horse and backed by a train of artillery, poured down in 1780 on the plain of the Carnatic. The small British force which met him was driven into Madras, and Madras itself was in danger. The news reached Hastings when he was at last on the verge of triumph over the Mahrattas; but his triumph was instantly abandoned, a peace was patched up, and every soldier hurried to Madras. The appearance of Eyre Coote checked the progress of Hyder, and after a campaign of some months he was hurled back into the fastnesses of Mysore. India was the one quarter of the world where Britain lost nothing during the American war; and in the annexation of Benares, the extension of British rule along the Ganges, the reduction of Oudh to virtual dependence, the appearance of English armies in Central India, and the defeat of Hyder, the genius of Hastings laid the foundation of an Indian Empire.

Hyder Ali

1781

End of the War

But while England triumphed in the East, the face of the war in America was changed by a terrible disaster. Foiled in an attempt on North Carolina by the refusal of his fellow general, Sir Henry Clinton, to assist him, Lord Cornwallis fell back in 1781 on Virginia, and entrenched himself in the lines of York Town. A sudden march of Washington brought him to the front of the English troops at a moment when the French fleet held the sea, and the army of Cornwallis was driven by famine to a surrender as humiliating as that of Saratoga. The news fell like a thunderbolt on the wretched Minister who had till now suppressed at his master's order his own conviction of the uselessness of further bloodshed. Opening his arms and pacing wildly up and down

SURRENDER OF LORD CORNWALLIS AT YORKTOWN.
Barnard, "History of England," 1790.

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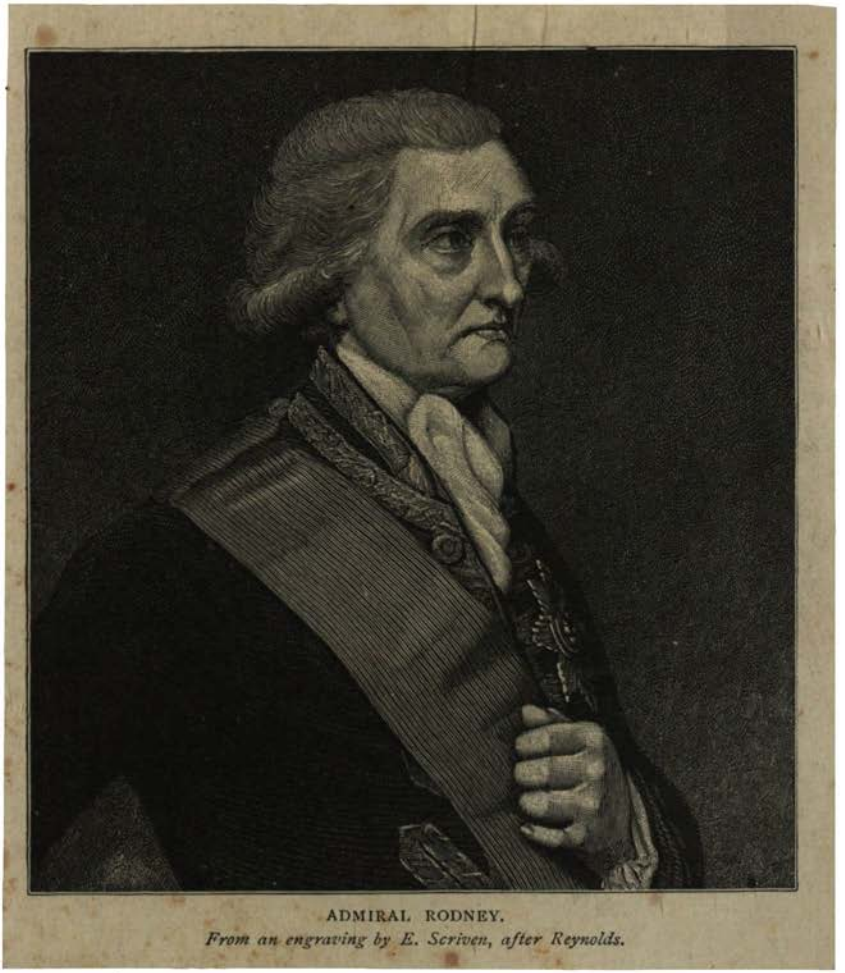
1761 to 1782
Mar. 1782

his room, Lord North exclaimed "It is all over," and resigned. England in fact seemed on the brink of ruin. In the crisis of the American struggle Ireland itself turned on her. A force of forty thousand volunteers had been raised in 1779 for the defence of the island against a French invasion. Threats of an armed revolt backed the eloquence of two Parliamentary leaders, Grattan and Flood, in their demand for the repeal of Poynings' Act, which took all power of initiative legislation from the Irish Parliament, and for the recognition of the Irish House of Lords as an ultimate Court of Appeal. The demands were in effect a claim for national independence; but there were no means of resisting them, for England was without a soldier to oppose the volunteers. The fall

THE PARLIAMENT-HOUSE, DUBLIN.

of Lord North recalled the Whigs under Lord Rockingham to office; and on Rockingham fell the double task of satisfying Ireland and of putting an end, at any cost, to the war with the United States. The task involved in both quarters a humiliating surrender; and it needed the bitter stress of necessity to induce the Houses to follow his counsels. The English Parliament abandoned by a formal statute the judicial and legislative supremacy it had till then asserted over the Parliament of Ireland; and negotiations were begun with America and its allies. In the difficulties of England the hopes of her enemies rose high. Spain refused to suspend hostilities at any other price than the surrender

of Gibraltar. France proposed that England should give up all her Indian conquests save Bengal. But the true basis of her world-power lay on the sea; and at this moment the command of the seas again became her own. Admiral Rodney, the greatest of English seamen save Nelson and Blake, had in January, 1780,



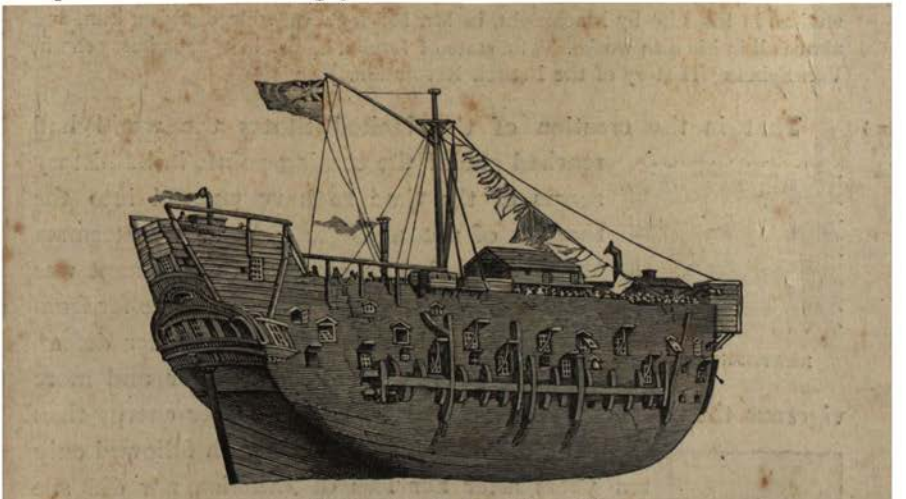
ADMIRAL RODNEY.
From an engraving by E. Scriven, after Reynolds.

encountered the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent, and only four of its vessels escaped to Cadiz. Two years later the triumphs of the French Admiral de Grasse called him to the West Indies, and in April 1782, a manœuvre which he was the first to introduce broke his opponent's line, and drove the French fleet shattered

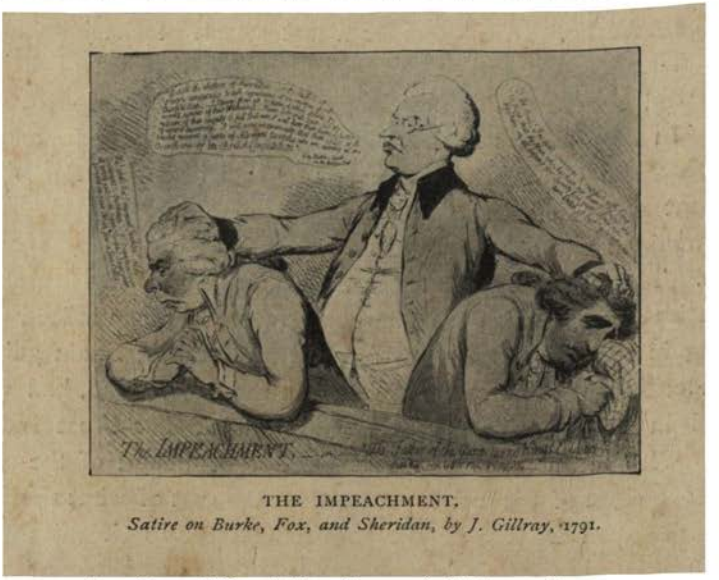
Jan. 16, 1780

"A PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF GIBRALTAR, WITH THE DISPOSITION OF THE SPANISH ATTACK, AND RELIEF OF THE GARRISON BY THE ENGLISH FLEET UNDER THE COMMAND OF ADMIRAL DARBY, ON THE 12TH OF APRIL, 1781"

from the Atlantic. In September a last attack of the joint force gathered against Gibraltar was repulsed by the heroism of Eliott. Nor would America wait any longer for the satisfaction of her allies. In November her commissioners signed the preliminaries of a peace, in which Britain reserved to herself on the American continent only Canada and the island of Newfoundland, and acknowledged without reserve the independence of the United States. The treaty of peace with the United States was a prelude to treaties of peace with the Bourbon powers. France indeed won nothing in the treaties with which the war ended; Spain gained only Florida and Minorca. England, on the other hand, had won ground in India; she had retained Canada; her West Indian islands were intact; she had asserted her command of the seas. But at the close of the war there was less thought of what she had retained than of what she had lost. The American Colonies were irrecoverably gone. It is no wonder that in the first shock of such a loss England looked on herself as on the verge of ruin, or that the Bourbon Courts believed her position as a world-power to be practically at an end. How utterly groundless such a conception was the coming years were to show.



THE "DISCOVERY" (COOK'S SHIP).
Lindsay, "History of Merchant Shipping;" from a drawing by E. W. Cook, R.A.



THE IMPEACHMENT.
Satire on Burke, Fox, and Sheridan, by J. Gillray, 1791.

Section III.—The Second Pitt, 1783—1793

[*Authorities.*—Mr. Massey's account of this period may be supplemented by Lord Stanhope's "Life of Pitt," Lord Russell's "Memoirs of Fox," and the Correspondence of Lord Malmesbury, Lord Auckland, and Mr. Rose. For the Slave Trade, see the Memoirs of Wilberforce by his sons. Burke may be studied in his Life by Macknight, in Mr. Morley's valuable essay on him, and above all in his own works. The state of foreign affairs in 1789 is best seen in Von Sybel's "History of the French Revolution."]

England and the World

NEWFOUNDLAND.

That in the creation of the United States the world had reached one of the turning points in its history seems at the time to have entered into the thought of not a single European statesman. What startled men most at the moment was the discovery that England herself was far from being ruined by the greatness of her defeat. She rose from it indeed stronger and more vigorous than ever. Never had she shown a mightier energy than in the struggle against France which followed only ten years after her loss of America, nor did she ever stand higher among the nations than on the day of Waterloo. Her real greatness, however, lay not in the old world but in the new. She was from that hour a mother of nations. In America she had begotten a great people, and her emigrant ships were

CANADA.

still to carry on the movement of the Teutonic race from which she herself had sprung. Her work was to be colonization. Her settlers were to dispute Africa with the Kaffir and the Hottentot; they were to build up in the waters of the Pacific colonies as great as those which she had lost in America. And to the nations that she founded she was to give not only her blood and her speech, but the freedom which she had won. It is the thought of this which flings its grandeur round the pettiest details of our story in the past. The history of France has little result beyond France itself. German or Italian history has no direct issue outside the bounds of Germany or Italy. But England is only a small part of the outcome of English history. Its greater issues lie not within the narrow limits of the mother island, but in the destinies of nations yet to be. The struggles of her patriots, the wisdom of her statesmen, the steady love of liberty and law in her people at large, were shaping in the past of our little island the future of mankind.

Sec. III

The Second Pitt 1783 to 1793

SEAL OF CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, EASTERN DIVISION.
Collection of Mr. Allan Wyon.

SEAL OF NATAL.
Collection of Mr. Allan Wyon.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

TASMANIA.

Meanwhile the rapid developement of industrial energy and industrial wealth in England itself was telling on the conditions of English statesmanship. Though the Tories and "King's friends" had now grown to a compact body of a hundred and fifty members

The Rockingham Ministry

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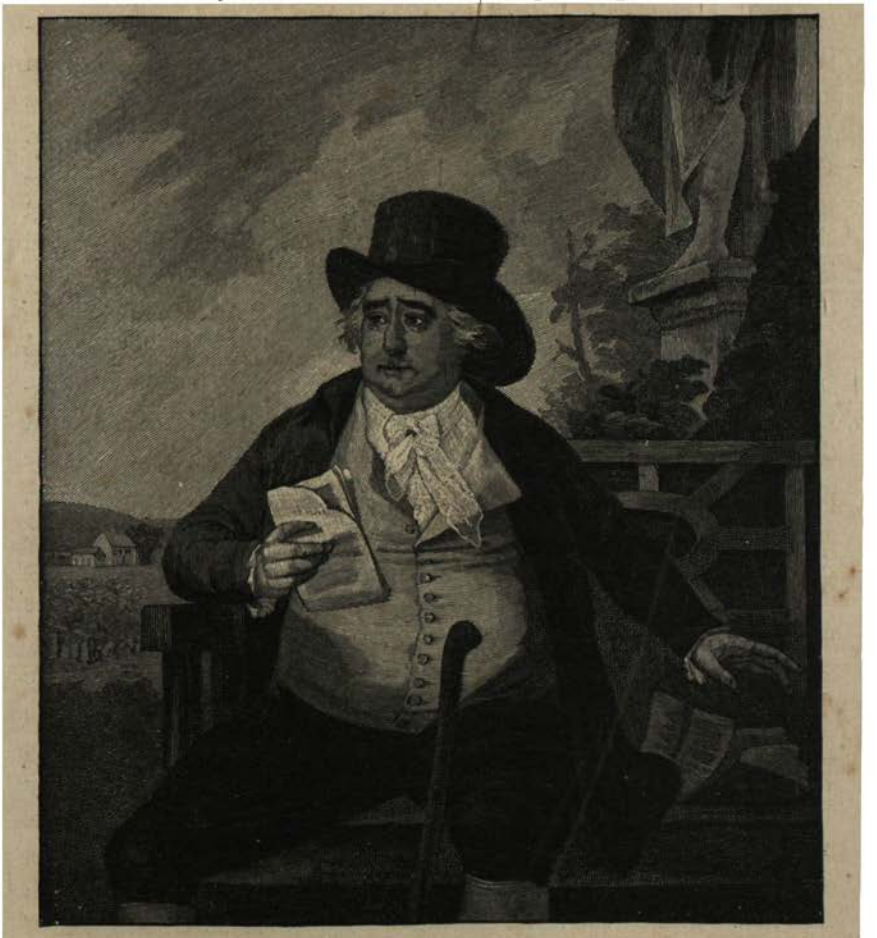
the Whigs, who held office under Lord Rockingham, were superior to their rivals in numbers and political character, now that the return of the Bedford section to the general body of the party during its steady opposition to the American war had restored much of its old cohesion. But this reunion only strengthened their aristocratic and exclusive tendencies, and widened the breach which was steadily opening on questions such as Parliamentary Reform,

WILLIAM PITT.
Picture by T. Gainsborough.

between the bulk of the Whig party and the small fragment which remained true to the more popular sympathies of Chatham. Lord Shelburne stood at the head of the Chatham party, and it was reinforced at this moment by the entry into Parliament of the second son of Chatham himself. William Pitt had hardly reached his twenty-second year; but he left college with the learning of a ripe scholar, and his ready and sonorous eloquence had been matured

by his father's teaching. "He will be one of the first men in Parliament," said a member to the Whig leader, Charles Fox, after Pitt's first speech in the House of Commons. "He is so already," replied Fox. The haughty self-esteem of the new statesman breathed in every movement of his tall, spare figure, in the hard



CHARLES JAMES FOX.
Picture by Karl Anton Hickel, in the National Portrait Gallery.

lines of a countenance which none but his closer friends saw lighted by a smile, in his cold and repulsive address, his invariable gravity of demeanour, and his habitual air of command. How great the qualities were which lay beneath this haughty exterior no one knew; nor had any one guessed how soon this "boy," as his rivals

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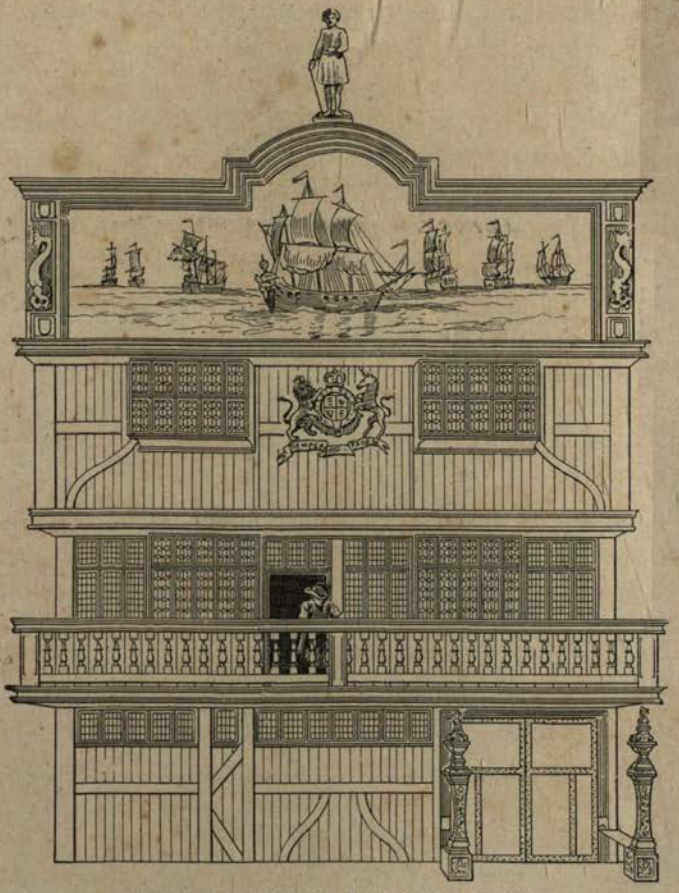
mockingly styled him, was to crush every opponent and to hold England at his will. He refused any minor post in the Rockingham Administration, claiming, if he took office at all, to be at once admitted to the Cabinet. But Pitt had no desire to take office under Rockingham. To him as to Chatham the main lesson of the war was the need of putting an end to those abuses in the composition of Parliament by which George the Third had been enabled to plunge the country into it. A thorough reform of the House of Commons was the only effectual means of doing this, and Pitt brought forward a bill founded on his father's plans for that purpose. But the great bulk of the Whigs could not resolve on the sacrifice of property and influence which such a reform would involve. Pitt's bill was thrown out; and in its stead the Ministry endeavoured to weaken the means of corrupt influence which the King had unscrupulously used by disqualifying persons holding government contracts from sitting in Parliament, by depriving revenue officers of the elective franchise (a measure which diminished the influence of the Crown in seventy boroughs), and above all by a bill for the reduction of the civil establishment, of the pension list, and of the secret service fund, which was brought in by Burke. These measures were to a great extent effectual in diminishing the influence of the Crown over Parliament, and they are memorable as marking the date when the direct bribery of members absolutely ceased. But they were absolutely inoperative in rendering the House of Commons really representative of or responsible to the people of England. The jealousy which the mass of the Whigs entertained of the Chatham section and its plans was more plainly shown on the death of Lord Rockingham in July. Shelburne was no sooner called to the head of the Ministry than Fox, who acted on personal grounds, and the bulk of Rockingham's followers resigned. Pitt on the other hand accepted office as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Economical Reform 1782

The Coalition

The Shelburne Ministry only lasted long enough to conclude the final peace with the United States; for in the opening of 1783 it was overthrown by the most unscrupulous coalition known in our history, that of the Whig followers of Fox with the Tories who still clung to Lord North. Never had the need of representative reform been more clearly shown than by a coalition which proved how powerless

was the force of public opinion to check even the most shameless faction in Parliament, how completely the lessening of the royal influence by the measures of Burke and Rockingham had tended to the profit, not of the people, but of the borough-mongers who usurped its representation. Pitt's renewed proposal of Parliamentary



FRONT OF THE OLD EAST INDIA HOUSE.
Danvers, "India Office Records."

Reform was rejected by a majority of two to one. Secure in their Parliamentary majority, and heedless of the power of public opinion without the walls of the House of Commons, the new Ministers entered boldly on a greater task than had as yet taxed the constructive genius of English statesmen. To leave such a dominion as Warren Hastings had built up in India to the control

The India Bill

BOMBAY GREEN IN 1767.
Forbes, "Oriental Memoirs."

of a mere company of traders was clearly impossible; and Fox proposed to transfer the political government from the Directors of the Company to a board of seven Commissioners. The appointment of the seven was vested in the first instance in Parliament, and afterwards in the Crown; their office was to be held for five years, but they were removeable on address from either House of Parliament. The proposal was at once met with a storm of opposition. The scheme indeed was an injudicious one; for the new Commissioners would have been destitute of that practical knowledge of India which belonged to the Company, while the want of any immediate link between them and the actual Ministry of the Crown would have prevented Parliament from exercising an effective control over their acts. But the real faults of this India Bill were hardly noticed in the popular outcry against it. The merchant-class was galled by the blow levelled at the greatest merchant-body in the realm: corporations trembled at the cancelling of a charter; the King viewed the measure as a mere means of transferring the patronage of India to the Whigs. With the nation at large the faults of the bill lay in the character of the Ministry which proposed it. To give the rule and patronage of India over to the existing House of Commons was to give a new and immense power to a body which misused in the grossest way the power it possessed. It was the sense of this popular feeling which encouraged the King to exert his personal influence to defeat the measure in the Lords, and on its defeat to order his Ministers to deliver up the seals. In December 1783 Pitt accepted the post of First Lord of the Treasury; but his position would at once have been untenable had the country gone with its nominal representatives. He was defeated again and again by large majorities in the Commons; but the majorities dwindled as a shower of addresses from every quarter, from the Tory University of Oxford as from the Whig Corporation of London, proved that public opinion went with the Minister and not with the House. It was the general sense of this which justified Pitt in the firmness with which, in the teeth of addresses for his removal from office, he delayed the dissolution of Parliament for five months, and gained time for that ripening of national sentiment on which he counted for success. When the election of 1784 came the struggle was at once at an end. The

Fall of the Coalition

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public feeling had become strong enough to break through the corrupt influences which commonly governed its representation. Every great constituency returned supporters to Pitt; of the majority which had defeated him in the Commons a hundred and sixty members were unseated; and only a fragment of the Whig party was saved by its command of nomination boroughs.

William Pitt

When Parliament came together after the overthrow of the Coalition, the Minister of twenty-five was master of England as no Minister had been before. Even the King yielded to his sway, partly through gratitude for the triumph he had won for him over the Whigs, partly from a sense of the madness which was soon to strike him down, but still more from a gradual discovery that the triumph which he had won over his political rivals had been won, not to the profit of the Crown, but of the nation at large. The Whigs, it was true, were broken, unpopular, and without a policy, while the Tories clung to the Minister who had "saved the King." But it was the support of a new political power that really gave his strength to the young Minister. The sudden rise of English industry was pushing the manufacturer to the front; and all that the trading classes loved in Chatham, his nobleness of temper, his consciousness of power, his patriotism, his sympathy with a wider world than the world within the Parliament-house, they saw in his son. He had little indeed of the poetic and imaginative side of Chatham's genius, of his quick perception of what was just and what was possible, his far-reaching conceptions of national policy, his outlook into the future of the world. Pitt's flowing and sonorous commonplaces rang hollow beside the broken phrases which still make his father's eloquence a living thing to Englishmen. On the other hand he possessed some qualities in which Chatham was utterly wanting. His temper, though naturally ardent and sensitive, had been schooled in a proud self-command. His simplicity and good taste freed him from his father's ostentation and extravagance. Diffuse and commonplace as his speeches seem, they were adapted as much by their very qualities of diffuseness and commonplace as by their lucidity and good sense to the intelligence of the middle classes whom Pitt felt to be his real audience. In his love of peace, his immense industry, his despatch of business, his skill in debate, his knowledge of finance

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN 1793.

Painted in London by Karl Anton Hickel. Presented June, 1882, by his Imperial Majesty the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria and King of Hungary to her Excellency Lady Dogot, for the National Portrait Gallery.

he recalled Sir Robert Walpole; but he had virtues which Walpole never possessed, and he was free from Walpole's worst defects. He was careless of personal gain. He was too proud to rule by corruption. His lofty self-esteem left no room for any jealousy of subordinates. He was generous in his appreciation of youthful merits; and the "boys" he gathered round him, such as Canning and Lord Wellesley, rewarded his generosity by a devotion which death left untouched. With Walpole's cynical inaction Pitt had no sympathy whatever. His policy from the first was one of active reform, and he faced every one of the problems, financial, constitutional, religious, from which Walpole had shrunk. Above all he had none of Walpole's scorn of his fellow-men. The noblest feature in his mind was its wide humanity. His love for England was as deep and personal as his father's love, but of the sympathy with English passion and English prejudice which had been at once his father's weakness and strength he had not a trace. When Fox taunted him with forgetting Chatham's jealousy of France and his faith that she was the natural foe of England, Pitt answered nobly that "to suppose any nation can be unalterably the enemy of another is weak and childish." The temper of the time and the larger sympathy of man with man, which especially marks the eighteenth century as a turning-point in the history of the human race, was everywhere bringing to the front a new order of statesmen, such as Turgot and Joseph the Second, whose characteristics were a love of mankind, and a belief that as the happiness of the individual can only be secured by the general happiness of the community to which he belongs, so the welfare of individual nations can only be secured by the general welfare of the world. Of these Pitt was one. But he rose high above the rest in the consummate knowledge, and the practical force which he brought to the realisation of his aims.

English Industry

Pitt's strength lay in finance; and he came forward at a time when the growth of English wealth made a knowledge of finance essential to a great minister. The progress of the nation was wonderful. Population more than doubled during the eighteenth century, and the advance of wealth was even greater than that of population. The war had added a hundred millions to the national debt, but the burden was hardly felt. The loss of America only

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Manufactures

increased the commerce with that country; and industry had begun that great career which was to make Britain the workshop of the world. Though England already stood in the first rank of commercial states at the accession of George the Third, her industrial life at home was mainly agricultural. The wool-trade had gradually established itself in Norfolk, the West Riding of Yorkshire, and the counties of the south-west; while the manufacture of cotton was still almost limited to Manchester and Bolton, and remained so unimportant that in the middle of the eighteenth century the export of cotton goods hardly reached the value of fifty

WAGON.
Pyne, "Costumes of Great Britain," 1808.

thousand a year. There was the same slow and steady progress in the linen trade of Belfast and Dundee, and the silks of Spitalfields. The processes of manufacture were too rude to allow any large increase of production. It was only where a stream gave force to turn a mill-wheel that the wool-worker could establish his factory; and cotton was as yet spun by hand in the cottages, the "spinsters" of the family sitting with their distaffs round the weaver's handloom. But had the processes of manufacture been more efficient, they would have been rendered useless by the want of a cheap and easy means of transport. The older main roads,

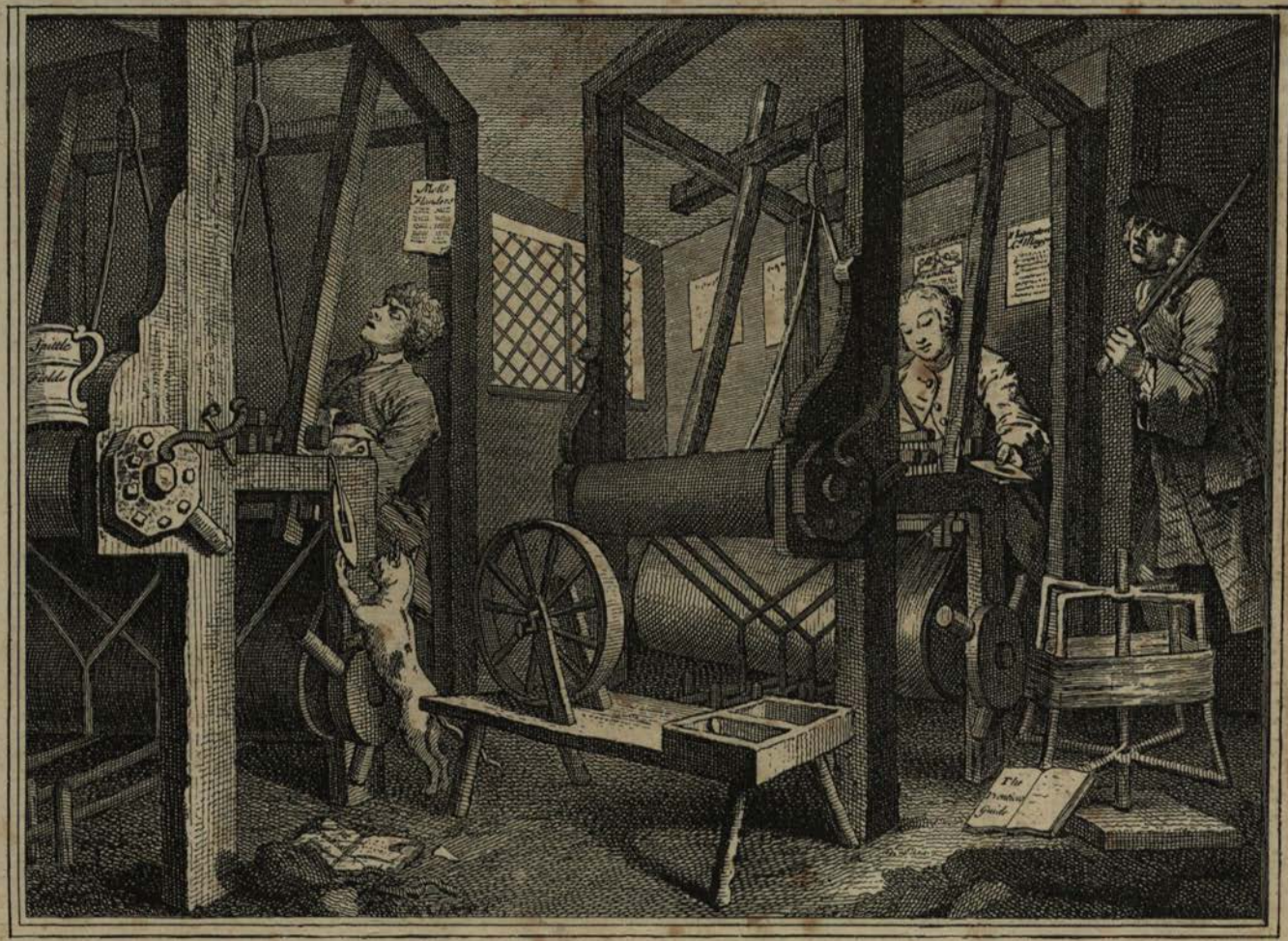
Roads and canals

which had lasted fairly through the middle ages, had broken down in later times before the growth of traffic and the increase of wagons and carriages. The new lines of trade lay often along mere country lanes which had never been more than horse-tracks. Much of the woollen trade therefore had to be carried on by means of long trains of pack-horses; and in the case of yet heavier goods, such as coal, distribution was almost impracticable, save along the greater rivers or in districts accessible from the sea. A new æra began when the engineering genius of Brindley joined Manchester

AQUEDUCT OVER THE IRWELL AT BARTON, LANCASHIRE.
From an engraving by W. Orme, 1793.

with its port of Liverpool in 1767 by a canal which crossed the Irwell on a lofty aqueduct; the success of the experiment soon led to the universal introduction of water-carriage, and Great Britain was traversed in every direction by three thousand miles of navigable canals. At the same time a new importance was given to the coal which lay beneath the soil of England. The stores of iron which had lain side by side with it in the northern counties had lain there unworked through the scarcity of wood, which was looked upon as the only fuel by which it could be

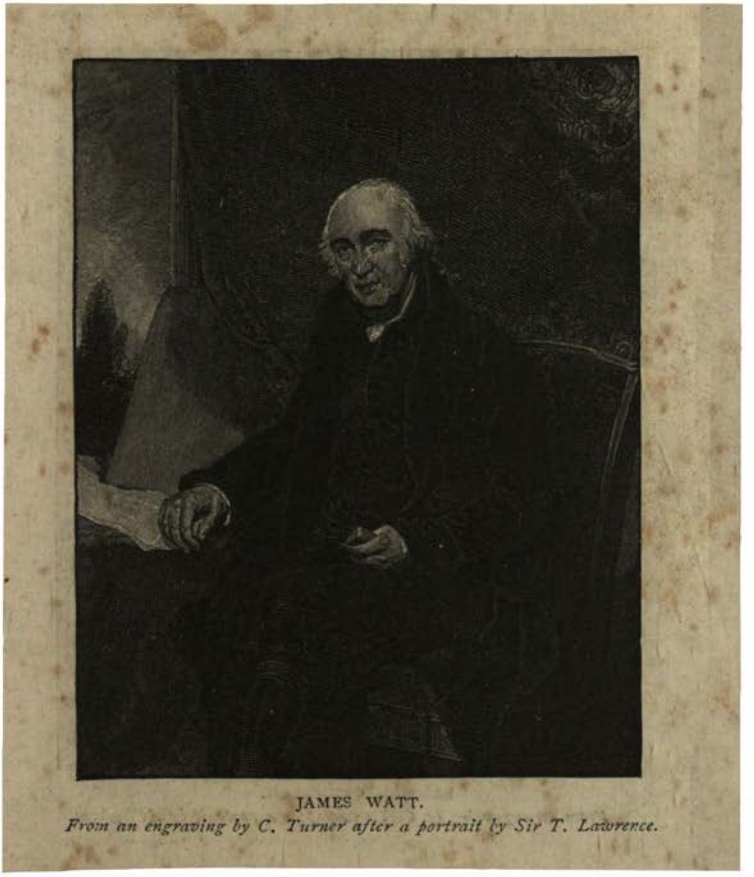
Coal and Iron



WEAVING AT SPITALFIELDS.

Hogarth, "Industry and Idleness."

smelted. In the middle of the eighteenth century a process for smelting iron with coal turned out to be effective; and the whole aspect of the iron-trade was at once revolutionized. Iron was to become the working material of the modern world; and it is its production of iron which more than all else has placed England at the head of industrial Europe. The value of coal as a means of



JAMES WATT.
From an engraving by C. Turner after a portrait by Sir T. Lawrence.

producing mechanical force was revealed in the discovery by which Watt in 1765 transformed the Steam-Engine from a mere toy into the most wonderful instrument which human industry has ever had at its command. The invention came at a moment when the existing supply of manual labour could no longer cope with the demands of the manufacturers. Three successive inventions in twelve years, that of the spinning-jenny in 1764 by the weaver

The Steam-Engine

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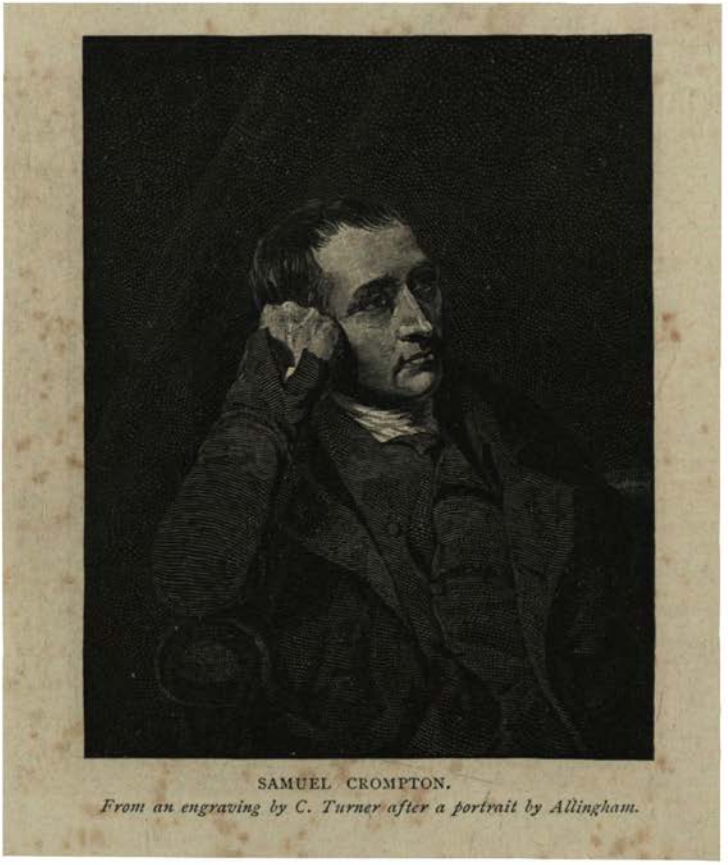
Hargreaves, of the spinning-machine in 1768 by the barber Arkwright, of the "mule" by the weaver Crompton in 1776 were followed by the discovery of the power-loom. But these would have been comparatively useless had it not been for the revelation of a new and inexhaustible labour-force in the steam-engine. It was the combination of such a force with such means of applying it that



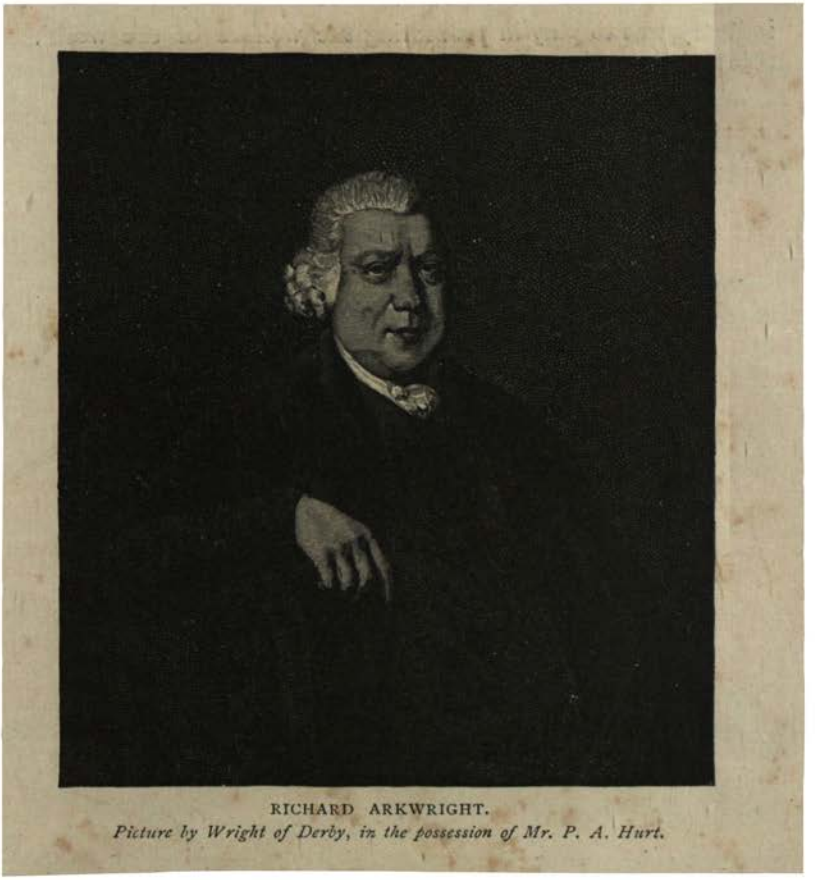
SAMUEL CROMPTON.
From an engraving by C. Turner after a portrait by Allingham.

enabled Britain during the terrible years of her struggle with France and Napoleon to all but monopolize the woollen and cotton trades, and raised her into the greatest manufacturing country that the world had seen.

Adam Smith

To deal wisely with such a growth required a knowledge of the laws of wealth which would have been impossible at an earlier time. But it had become possible in the days of Pitt. If books are to be

measured by the effect which they have produced on the fortunes of mankind, the "Wealth of Nations" must rank among the greatest of books. Its author was Adam Smith, an Oxford scholar and a professor at Glasgow. Labour, he contended, was the one source of wealth, and it was by freedom of labour, by suffering the worker to pursue his own interest in his own way, that the public wealth



RICHARD ARKWRIGHT.
Picture by Wright of Derby, in the possession of Mr. P. A. Hurt.

would best be promoted. Any attempt to force labour into artificial channels, to shape by laws the course of commerce, to promote special branches of industry in particular countries, or to fix the character of the intercourse between one country and another, is not only a wrong to the worker or the merchant, but actually hurtful to the wealth of a state. The book was published in 1776, at

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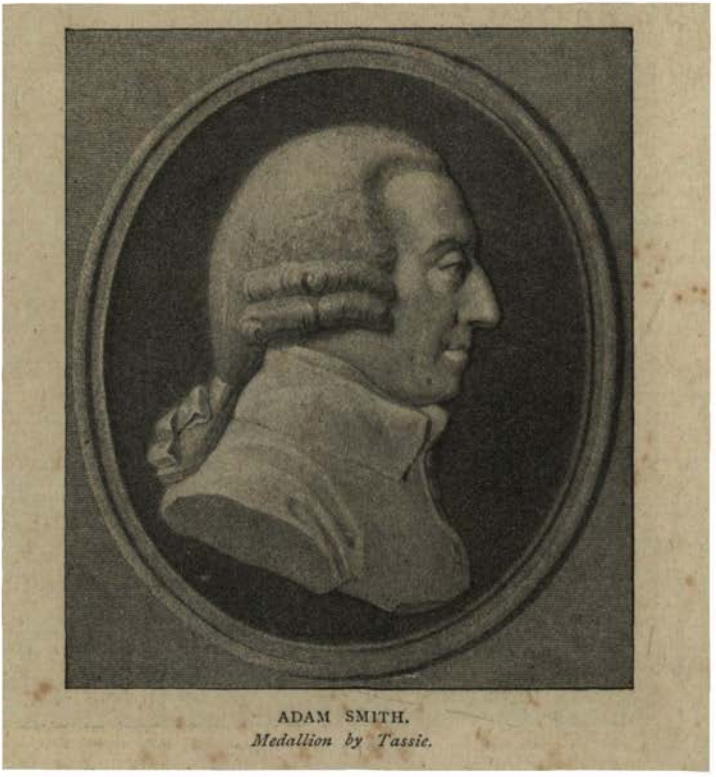
the opening of the American war, and studied by Pitt during his career as an undergraduate at Cambridge. From that time he owned Adam Smith for his master. He had hardly become Minister before he took the principles of the "Wealth of Nations" as the groundwork of his policy. The ten earlier years of his rule marked a new point of departure in English statesmanship. Pitt was the first English Minister who really grasped the part which industry was to play in promoting the welfare of the world. He

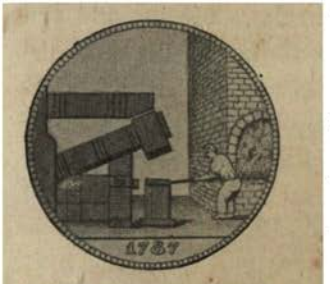


ADAM SMITH.
Medallion by Tassie.

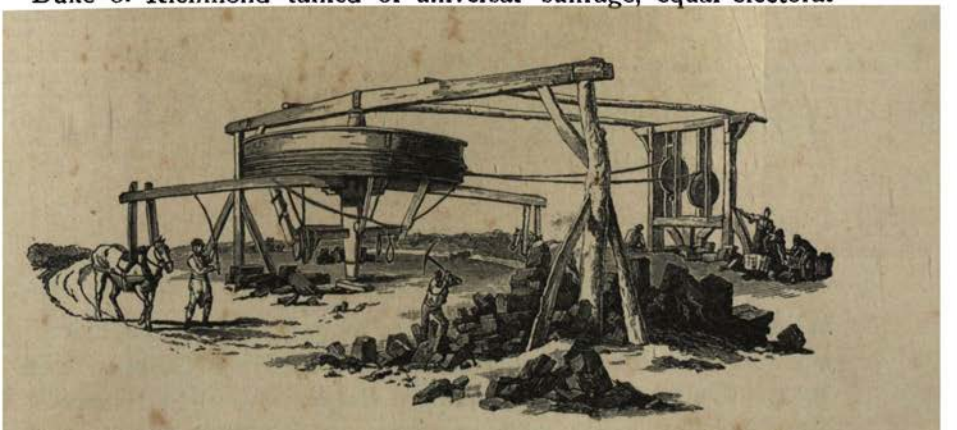
was not only a peace Minister and a financier, as Walpole had been, but a statesman who saw that the best security for peace lay in the freedom and widening of commercial intercourse between nations; that public economy not only lessened the general burdens but left additional capital in the hands of industry; and that finance might be turned from a mere means of raising revenue into a powerful engine of political and social improvement.

That little was done by Pitt himself to carry these principles

into effect was partly owing to the mass of ignorance and prejudice with which he had to contend, and still more to the sudden break of his plans through the French Revolution. His power rested above all on the trading classes, and these were still persuaded that wealth meant gold and silver, and that commerce was best furthered by jealous monopolies. It was only by patience and dexterity that the mob of merchants and country squires who backed him in the House of Commons could be brought to acquiesce in the changes he proposed. How small his power was when it struggled with the prejudices around him was seen in the failure of the first great measure he brought forward. The question of parliamentary reform which had been mooted during the American war had been steadily coming to the front. Chatham had advocated an increase of county members, who were then the most independent part of the Lower House. The Duke of Richmond talked of universal suffrage, equal electoral



TOKEN OF JOHN WILKINSON, IRONMASTER, 1787.
W. H. Smith, "Birmingham."



COLLIERY.
Pyne, "Microcosm," 1803—1806.

districts, and annual Parliaments. Wilkes anticipated the Reform Bill of a later time by proposing to disfranchise the rotten boroughs, and to give members in their stead to the counties and to the more populous and wealthy towns. William Pitt had made the question

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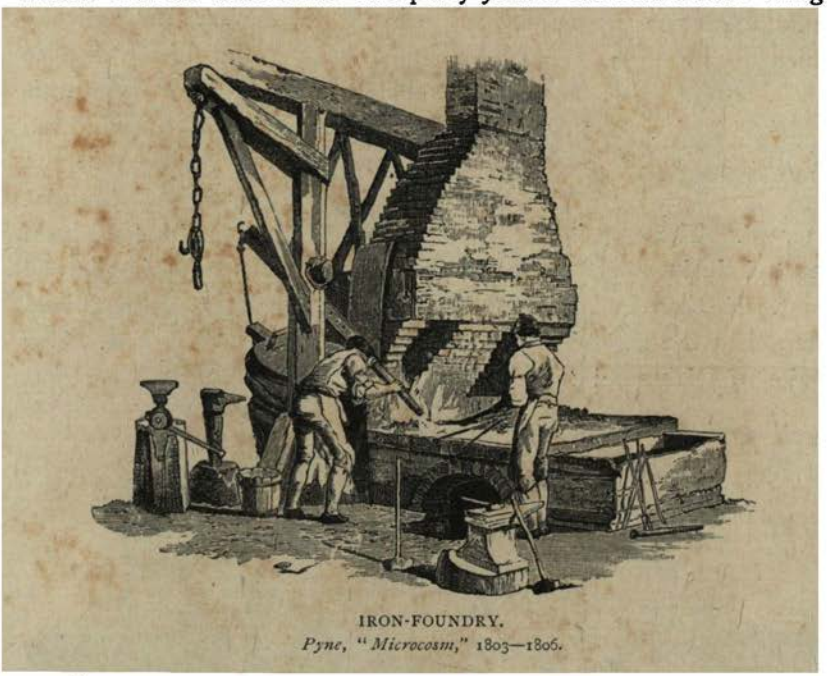
his own by bringing forward a motion for reform on his first entry into the House, and one of his first measures as Minister was to bring in a bill in 1785 which, while providing for the gradual extinction of all decayed boroughs, disfranchised thirty-six at once, and transferred their members to counties. He brought the King to abstain from opposition, and strove to buy off the borough-mongers, as the holders of rotten boroughs were called, by offering to compensate them for the seats they lost at their market value. But the bulk of his own party joined the bulk of the Whigs



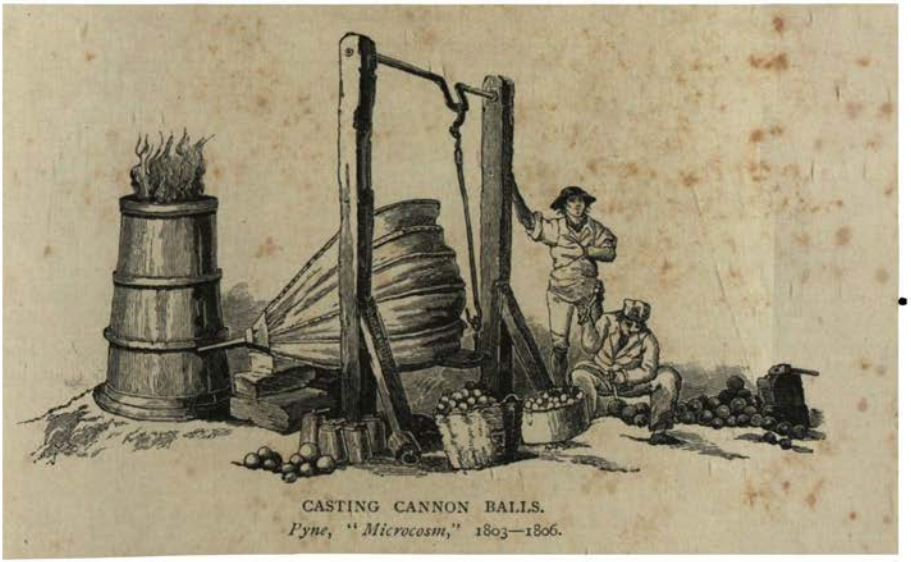
IRON-FOUNDRY.
Pyne, "Microcosm," 1803—1806.

in a steady resistance to the bill. The more glaring abuses, indeed, within Parliament itself, the abuses which stirred Chatham and Wilkes to action, had in great part disappeared. The bribery of members had ceased. Burke's Bill of Economical Reform had just dealt a fatal blow at the influence which the King exercised by suppressing a host of useless offices, household appointments, judicial and diplomatic charges, which were maintained for the purposes of corruption. Above all, the recent triumph of public opinion to which Pitt owed his power had done much to diminish the sense of any real danger from the opposition which Parliament

had shown till now to the voice of the nation. "Terribly disappointed and beat" as Wilberforce tells us Pitt was by the rejection of his measure, the temper of the House and of the people was too plain to be mistaken, and though his opinion remained unaltered, he never brought it forward again.

Pitt's Finance

The failure of his constitutional reform was more than compensated by triumphs of his finance. When he entered office public credit was at its lowest ebb. The debt had been doubled by the American war, yet large sums still remained unfunded, while the revenue was reduced by a vast system of smuggling which turned every coast-town into a nest of robbers. The



CASTING CANNON BALLS.
Pyne, "Microcosm," 1803—1806.

deficiency was met for the moment by new taxes, but the time which was thus gained served to change the whole face of public affairs. The first of Pitt's financial measures—his plan for gradually paying off the debt by a sinking fund—was undoubtedly an error; but it had a happy effect in restoring public confidence. He met the smuggler by a reduction of Custom-duties which made his trade unprofitable. He revived Walpole's plan of an Excise. Meanwhile the public expenses were reduced, and commission after commission was appointed to introduce economy into every department of the public service. The rapid developement of the national industry which we have already noted no doubt aided the

success of these measures. Credit was restored. The smuggling trade was greatly reduced. In two years there was a surplus of a million, and though duty after duty was removed the revenue rose steadily with every remission of taxation. Meanwhile Pitt was showing the political value of the new finance in a wider field. Ireland, then as now, was England's difficulty. The tyrannous misgovernment under which she had groaned ever since the battle of the Boyne was producing its natural fruit; the miserable land was torn with political faction, religious feuds and peasant con-

THE LINEN HALL, DUBLIN.
From an engraving by W. Hincks, 1783.

spiracies; and so threatening had the attitude of the Protestant party which ruled it become during the American war that they had forced the English Parliament to relinquish its control over their Parliament in Dublin. Pitt saw that much at least of the misery and disloyalty of Ireland sprang from its poverty. The population had grown rapidly while culture remained stationary and commerce perished. And of this poverty much was the direct result of unjust law. Ireland was a grazing country, but to protect the interest of English graziers the import of its cattle into England was forbidden. To protect the interests of English

clothiers and weavers, its manufactures were loaded with duties. To redress this wrong was the first financial effort of Pitt, and the bill which he introduced in 1785 did away with every obstacle to freedom of trade between England and Ireland. It was a measure which, as he held, would "draw what remained of the shattered empire together," and repair in part the loss of America by creating a loyal and prosperous Ireland; and struggling almost

BAS-RELIEF COMMEMORATING TREATY BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE, 1787.
Wedgwood; modelled by Flaxman.

alone in face of a fierce opposition from the Whigs and the Manchester merchants, he dragged it through the English Parliament, only to see amendments forced into it which ensured its rejection by the Irish Parliament. But the defeat only spurred him to a greater effort elsewhere. France had been looked upon as England's natural enemy; but in 1787 he concluded a Treaty of Commerce with France which enabled the subjects of both countries to reside and travel in either without license or passport.

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The Trial of Hastings

did away with all prohibition of trade on either side, and reduced every import duty.

India owes to Pitt's triumph a form of government which remained unchanged to our own day. The India Bill which he carried in 1784 preserved in appearance the political and commercial powers of the Directors, while establishing a Board of Control, formed from members of the Privy Council, for the approval or annulling of their acts. Practically, however, the powers of the Board of Directors were absorbed by a secret committee of three elected members of that body, to whom all the more important administrative functions had been reserved by the bill, while those of the Board of Control were virtually exercised by its President. As the President was in effect a new Secretary of State for the Indian Department, and became an important member of each Ministry, responsible like his fellow-members for his action to Parliament, the administration of India was thus made a part of the general system of the English Government; while the secret committee supplied the experience of Indian affairs in which the Minister might be deficient. Meanwhile the new temper that was growing up in the English people told on the attitude of England towards its great dependency. Discussions over rival plans of Indian administration diffused a sense of national responsibility for its good government, and there was a general resolve that the security against injustice and misrule which was enjoyed by the poorest Englishman should be enjoyed by the poorest Hindoo. This resolve expressed itself in the trial of Warren Hastings. Hastings returned from India at the close of the war with the hope of rewards as great as those of Clive. He had saved all that Clive had won. He had laid the foundation of a vast empire in the East. He had shown rare powers of administration, and the foresight, courage, and temperance which mark the born ruler of men. But the wisdom and glory of his rule could not hide its terrible ruthlessness. He was charged with having sold for a vast sum the services of British troops to crush the free tribes of the Rohillas, with having wrung half a million by extortion from the Rajah of Benares, with having extorted by torture and starvation more than a million from the Princesses of Oudh. He was accused of having kept his hold upon power by

measures as unscrupulous, and with having murdered a native who opposed him by an abuse of the forms of English law. On almost all these charges the cooler judgement of later enquirers has acquitted Warren Hastings of guilt. Personally there can be little doubt that he had done much to secure to the new subjects of Britain a just and peaceable government. What was hardest and most pitiless in his rule had been simply a carrying out of the system of administration which was native to India and which he found existing there. But such a system was alien from the new humanity of Englishmen; and few dared to vindicate Hastings when Burke in words of passionate earnestness moved for his impeachment. The great trial lingered on for years, and in the long run Hastings secured an acquittal. But the end at which the impeachment aimed had really been won. The attention, the sympathy of Englishmen had been drawn across distant seas to a race utterly strange to them; and the peasant of Cornwall or Cumberland had learned how to thrill at the suffering of a peasant of Bengal.

THE "FOURTEEN STARS" TAVERN, BRISTOL.
Old drawing in British Museum.

The Slave Trade

Even while the trial was going on a yet wider extension of English sympathy made itself felt. In the year which followed the adoption of free trade with France the new philanthropy allied itself with the religious movement created by the Wesleys in an attack on the Slave Trade. One of the profits which England bought by the triumphs of Marlborough was a right to a monopoly

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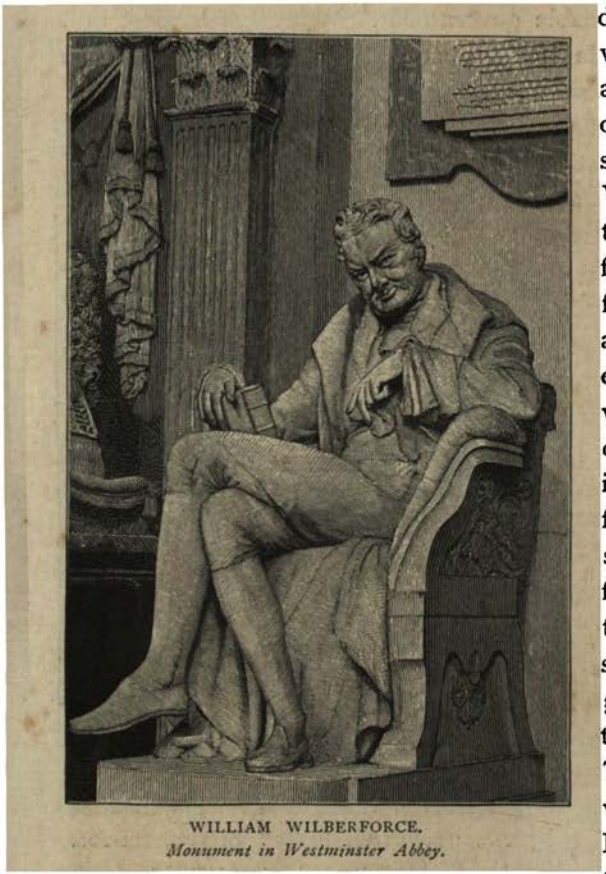
of the slave trade between Africa and the Spanish dominions; and it was England that had planted slavery in her American colonies and her West Indian islands. But the horrors and iniquity of the trade, the ruin and degradation of Africa which it brought about, the oppression of the negro himself, were now felt widely and deeply. "After a conversation in the open air at the root of an old tree, just above the steep descent into the Vale of Keston," with the younger Pitt, his friend, William Wilberforce, whose position as a representative of the evangelical party gave weight to his advocacy of such a cause, resolved in 1788 to bring in a bill for the abolition of the slave trade. But the bill fell before the opposition of the Liverpool slave merchants and the general indifference of the House of Commons. The spirit of humanity which breathed through Pitt's policy had indeed to wrestle with difficulties at home and abroad; and his efforts to sap the enmity of nation against nation by a freer intercourse encountered a foe even more fatal than English prejudice, in the very movement of which his measures formed a part. Across the Channel this movement was growing into a revolution which was to change the face of the world.



WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.
Monument in Westminster Abbey.

England and Europe

So far as England was concerned the Puritan resistance of the seventeenth century had in the end succeeded in checking the

THE FRUIT-BARROW.
After H. Walton.

general tendency of the time to religious and political despotism. Since the Revolution of 1688 freedom of conscience and the people's right to govern itself through its representatives in Parliament had been practically established. Social equality had begun long before. Every man from the highest to the lowest was subject to, and protected by, the same law. The English aristocracy, though exercising a powerful influence on government, were possessed of few social privileges, and prevented from forming a separate class in the nation by the legal and social tradition which counted all save the eldest son of a noble house as commoners. No impassable line parted the gentry from the commercial classes, and these again possessed no privileges which could part them from the lower classes of the community. Public opinion, the general sense of educated Englishmen, had established itself after a short struggle as the dominant element in English government. But in all the other great states of Europe the wars of religion had left only the name of freedom. Government tended to a pure despotism. Privilege was supreme

"Old Chairs to mend."
Wheatley, "Itinerant Trades of London, 1794-5."

SEC. III
THE SECOND PITT
1783 TO 1793

in religion, in politics, in society. Society itself rested on a rigid division of classes from one another, which refused to the people at large any equal rights of justice or of industry. We have already seen how alien such a conception of national life was from the ideas which the wide diffusion of intelligence during the eighteenth century was spreading throughout Europe; and in almost every country some enlightened rulers endeavoured by administrative reforms in some sort to satisfy the sense of wrong which was felt around them. The attempts of sovereigns like Frederick the Great in Prussia, and Joseph the Second in Austria and the Netherlands, were rivalled by the efforts of statesmen such as Turgot in France. It was in France indeed that the contrast between the actual state of society and the new ideas of public right was felt most keenly. Nowhere had the victory of the Crown been more complete. The aristocracy had been robbed of all share in public affairs; it enjoyed social privileges and exemption from any contribution to the public burdens, without that sense of public duty which a governing class to some degree always

"Strawberries, scarlet strawberries."
Wheatley's "Trades."

"Do you want any matches:"
Wheatley's "Trades."

"Sweet China oranges."
Wheatley's "Trades."

possesses. Guilds and monopolies fettered the industry of the trader and the merchant, and cut them off from the working classes, as the value attached to noble blood cut off both from the aristocracy.

State of France

If its political position indeed were compared with that of most of the countries round it, France stood high. Its government was less oppressive, its general wealth was larger and more evenly diffused, there was a better administration of justice, and greater security for public order. Poor as its peasantry seemed to English eyes, they were far above the peasants of Germany or Spain. Its middle class was the quickest and most intelligent in Europe. Under Lewis the Fifteenth opinion was practically free; and a literary class had sprung up which devoted itself with wonderful brilliancy and activity to popularizing the ideas of social and political justice which it learned from English writers, and in the case of Montesquieu and Voltaire from personal contact with English life. The moral conceptions of the time, its

"Knives, scissors and razors to grind."
Wheatley's "Trades."

"A new love song, only ½d. apiece."
Wheatley's "Trades."

love of mankind, its sense of human brotherhood, its hatred of oppression, its pity for the guilty and the poor, its longing after a higher and nobler standard of life and action, were expressed by a crowd of writers, and above all by Rousseau, with a fire and eloquence which carried them to the heart of the people. But this new force of intelligence only jostled roughly with the social forms with which it found itself in contact. The philosopher denounced the tyranny of the priesthood. The peasant grumbled at the lord's right to judge him in his courts and to exact feudal services from him. The merchant was galled by the trading restrictions and the heavy taxation. The country gentry rebelled against their exclusion from public life and from the government of the country. Its powerlessness to bring about any change at home turned all this new energy into sympathy with a struggle against tyranny abroad. Public opinion forced France to ally itself with America in its

"Hot spice gingerbread, smoaking hot."
Wheatley's "Trades."

contest for liberty, and French volunteers under the Marquis de Lafayette joined Washington's army. But while the American war spread more widely throughout the nation the craving for freedom, it brought on the Government financial embarrassment from which it could only free itself by an appeal to the country at large. Lewis the Sixteenth resolved to summon the States-General, which had not met since the time of Richelieu, and to appeal to the nobles to waive their immunity from taxation. His resolve at once stirred into vigorous life every impulse and desire

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE TAKING OF THE BASTILLE.

which had been seething in the minds of the people; and the States-General no sooner met at Versailles in May 1789 than the fabric of despotism and privilege began to crumble. A rising in Paris destroyed the Bastille, and the capture of this fortress was taken for the sign of a new æra of constitutional freedom in France and through Europe. Even in England men thrilled with a strange joy at the tidings of its fall. "How much is this the greatest event that ever happened in the world," Fox cried with a burst of enthusiasm, "and how much the best!"

Pitt and Russia

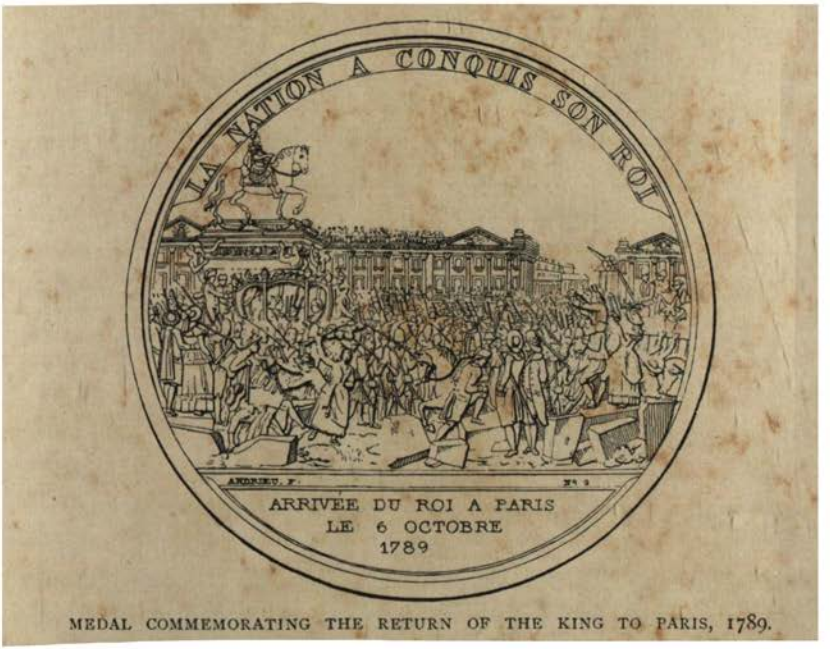
Pitt regarded the approach of France to sentiments of liberty which had long been familiar to England with greater coolness, but with no distrust. For the moment indeed his attention was distracted by an attack of madness which visited the King in 1788, and by the claim of a right to the Regency which was at once advanced by the Prince of Wales. The Prince belonged to the Whig party; and Fox, who was travelling in Italy, hurried home to support his claim, in full belief that the Prince's Regency would be followed by his own return to power. Pitt successfully resisted it on the constitutional ground that in such a case the right to choose a temporary regent, under what limitations it would, lay with Parliament; and a bill which conferred the Regency on the Prince, in accordance with this view, was already passing the Houses when the recovery of the King put an end to the long dispute. Foreign difficulties, too, absorbed Pitt's attention. Russia had risen into greatness under Catherine the Second; and Catherine had resolved from the first on the annexation of Poland, the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and the setting up of a Russian throne at Constantinople. In her first aim she was baffled for the moment by Frederick the Great. She had already made herself virtually mistress of the whole of Poland, her armies occupied the kingdom, and she had seated a nominee of her own on its throne, when Frederick in union with the Emperor Joseph the Second forced her to admit Germany to a share of the spoil. If the Polish partition of 1773 brought the Russian frontier westward to the upper waters of the Dwina and the Dnieper, it gave Galicia to Maria Theresa, and West Prussia to Frederick himself. Foiled in her first aim, she waited for the realization of her second till the alliance between the two German powers was at an end through the resistance of Prussia to Joseph's schemes for the annexation of Bavaria, and till the death of Frederick removed her most watchful foe. Then in 1788 Joseph and the Empress joined hands for a partition of the Turkish Empire. But Prussia was still watchful, and England was no longer fettered as in 1773 by troubles with America. The friendship established by Chatham between the two countries, which had been suspended by Bute's treachery and all but destroyed during the Northern League of Neutral Powers, had been restored by Pitt through his co-operation

League against Russia

with Frederick's successor in the restoration of the Dutch Statholderate. Its political weight was now seen in an alliance of England, Prussia, and Holland in 1789 for the preservation of the Turkish Empire. A great European struggle seemed at hand; and in such a struggle the sympathy and aid of France was of the highest importance. But with the treaty the danger passed away. In the spring of 1790 Joseph died broken-hearted at the failure of his plans and the revolt of the Netherlands against his innovations; and Austria practically withdrew from the war with the Turks.

Meanwhile in France things moved fast. By breaking down the division between its separate orders the States-General became

Pitt and France

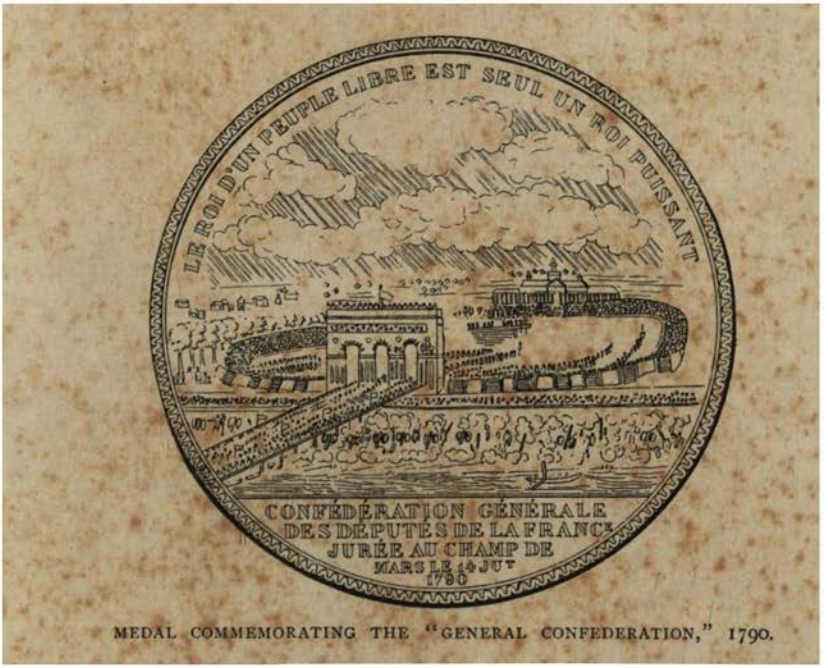


MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE RETURN OF THE KING TO PARIS, 1789.

a National Assembly, which abolished the privileges of the provincial parliaments, of the nobles, and the Church. In October the mob of Paris marched on Versailles and forced the King to return with them to the capital; and a Constitution hastily put together was accepted by Lewis the Sixteenth in the stead of his old despotic power. To Pitt the tumult and disorder with which these great changes were wrought seemed transient matters. In

January 1790 he still believed that "the present convulsions in France must sooner or later culminate in general harmony and regular order," and that when her own freedom was established, "France would stand forth as one of the most brilliant powers of Europe." But the coolness and good-will with which Pitt looked on the Revolution was far from being universal in the nation at large. The cautious good sense of the bulk of Englishmen, their love of order and law, their distaste for violent changes and for abstract theories, as well as their reverence for the past, were fast

England and the Revolution


LE ROI D'UN PEUPLE LIBRE EST SEUL UN ROI PUISSANT
CONFÉDÉRATION GÉNÉRALE
DES DÉPUTÉS DE LA FRANCE
JURÉE AU CHAMP DE
MARS LE 14 JUT
1790

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE "GENERAL CONFEDERATION," 1790.

rousing throughout the country a dislike of the revolutionary changes which were hurrying on across the Channel; and both the political sense and the political prejudice of the nation were being fired by the warnings of Edmund Burke. The fall of the Bastille, though it kindled enthusiasm in Fox, roused in Burke only distrust. "Whenever a separation is made between liberty and justice," he wrote a few weeks later, "neither is safe." The night of the fourth of August, when the privileges of every class were abolished, filled him with horror. He saw, and rightly saw, in it the critical moment which revealed the character of the Revolution,

and his part was taken at once. "The French," he cried in January, while Pitt was foretelling a glorious future for the new Constitution, "the French have shown themselves the ablest architects of ruin who have hitherto existed in the world. In a short space of time they have pulled to the ground their army, their navy, their commerce, their arts and their manufactures." But in Parliament Burke stood alone. The Whigs, though distrustfully, followed Fox in his applause of the Revolution. The Tories, yet more distrustfully, followed Pitt; and Pitt warmly expressed his sympathy with the constitutional government which was ruling France. At this moment indeed the revolutionary party gave a signal proof of its friendship for England. Irritated by an English settlement at Nootka Sound in California, Spain appealed to France for aid in accordance with the Family Compact: and the French Ministry, with a party at its back which believed things had gone far enough, resolved on a war as the best means of checking the progress of the Revolution and restoring the power of the Crown. The revolutionary party naturally opposed this design; after a bitter struggle the right of declaring war, save with the sanction of the Assembly, was taken from the King; and all danger of hostilities passed away. "The French Government," Pitt asserted, "was bent on cultivating the most unbounded friendship for Great Britain," and he saw no reason in its revolutionary changes why Britain should not return the friendship of France. He was convinced that nothing but the joint action of France and England would in the end arrest the troubles of Eastern Europe. His intervention foiled for the moment a fresh effort of Prussia to rob Poland of Dantzig and Thorn. But though Russia was still pressing Turkey hard, a Russian war was so unpopular in England that a hostile vote in Parliament forced Pitt to discontinue his armaments; and a fresh union of Austria and Prussia, which promised at this juncture to bring about a close of the Turkish struggle, promised also a fresh attack on the independence of Poland.

Nootka Sound

But while Pitt was pleading for friendship between the two countries, Burke was resolved to make friendship impossible. He had long ceased, indeed, to have any hold over the House of Commons. The eloquence which had vied with that of Chatham

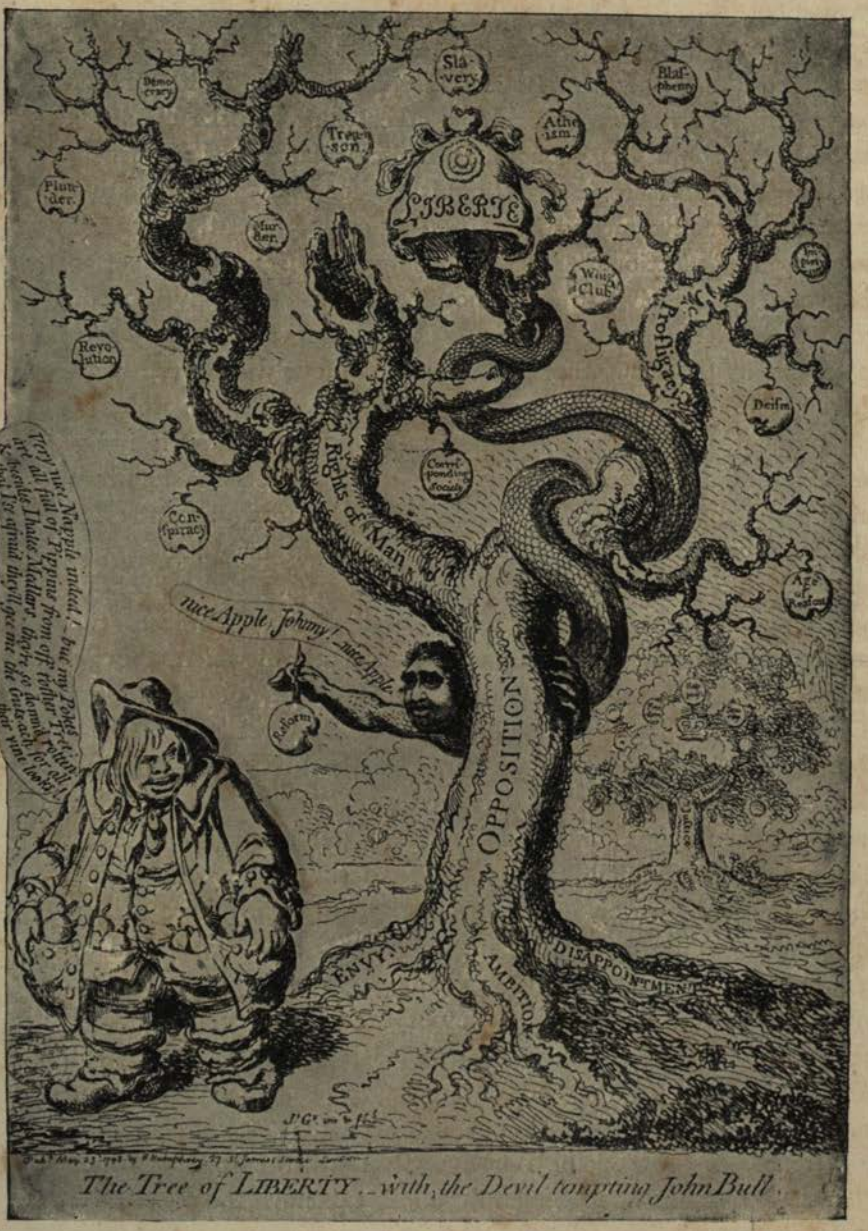
Burke and the Revolution

during the discussions on the Stamp Act had become distasteful to the bulk of its members. The length of his speeches, the profound and philosophical character of his argument, the splendour and often the extravagance of his illustrations, his passionate earnestness, his want of temper and discretion, wearied and perplexed the squires and merchants about him. He was known at last as "the dinner-bell of the House," so rapidly did its benches thin at his rising. For a time his energies found scope in the impeachment of Hastings; and the grandeur of his appeals to the justice of England hushed detraction. But with the close of the impeachment his repute had again fallen; and the approach of old age, for he was now past sixty, seemed to counsel retirement from an assembly where he stood unpopular and alone. But age and disappointment and loneliness were all forgotten as Burke saw rising across the Channel the embodiment of all that he hated—a Revolution founded on scorn of the past, and threatening with ruin the whole social fabric which the past had reared; the ordered structure of classes and ranks crumbling before a doctrine of social equality; a State rudely demolished and reconstituted; a Church and a Nobility swept away in a night. Against the enthusiasm of what he rightly saw to be a new political religion he resolved to rouse the enthusiasm of the old. He was at once a great orator and a great writer; and now that the House was deaf to his voice, he appealed to the country by his pen. The "Reflections on the French Revolution" which he published in October 1790 not only denounced the acts of rashness and violence which sullied the great change that France had wrought, but the very principles from which the change had sprung. Burke's deep sense of the need of social order, of the value of that continuity in human affairs "without which men would become like flies in a summer," blinded him to all but the faith in mere rebellion, and the yet sillier faith in mere novelty, which disguised a real nobleness of aim and temper even in the most ardent of the revolutionists. He would see no abuses in the past, now that it had fallen, or anything but the ruin of society in the future. He preached a crusade against men whom he regarded as the foes of religion and civilization, and called on the armies of Europe to put down

a Revolution whose principles threatened every state with destruction.

The great obstacle to such a crusade was Pitt: and one of the grandest outbursts of the "Reflections" closed with a bitter taunt at the Minister's policy. "The age of chivalry," Burke cried, "is gone; that of sophisters, economists, and calculators has succeeded, and the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever." But neither taunt nor invective moved Pitt from his course. At the moment when the "Reflections" appeared he gave a fresh assurance to France of his resolve to have nothing to do with any crusade against the Revolution. "This country," he wrote, "means to persevere in the neutrality hitherto scrupulously observed with respect to the internal dissensions of France; and from which it will never depart unless the conduct held there makes it indispensable as an act of self-defence." So far indeed was he from sharing the reactionary panic which was spreading around him that he chose this time for supporting Fox in his Libel Act, a measure which, by transferring the decision on what was libellous in any publication from the judge to the jury, completed the freedom of the press; and himself passed a Bill which, though little noticed among the storms of the time, was one of the noblest of his achievements. He boldly put aside the dread which had been roused by the American war, that the gift of self-government to our colonies would serve only as a step towards their secession from the mother-country, and established a House of Assembly and a Council in the two Canadas. "I am convinced," said Fox (who, however, differed from Pitt as to the nature of the Constitution to be given to Canada), "that the only method of retaining distant colonies with advantage is to enable them to govern themselves;" and the policy of the one statesman and the foresight of the other have been justified by the later history of our dependencies. Nor had Burke better success with his own party. Fox remained an ardent lover of the Revolution, and answered a fresh attack of Burke upon it with more than usual warmth. A close affection had bound till now the two men together; but the fanaticism of Burke declared it at an end. "There is no loss of friendship," Fox exclaimed, with a sudden burst of tears. "There is!" Burke repeated. "I know the price

Constitution given to Canada 1791



The Tree of LIBERTY *with, the Devil tempting John Bull.*

Satire on Fox and the Revolution, by J. Gillray.

of my conduct. Our friendship is at an end." Within the walls of Parliament Burke stood utterly alone. His "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs," in June 1791, failed to detach a follower from Fox. Pitt coldly counselled him rather to praise the English Constitution than to rail at the French. "I have made many enemies and few friends," Burke wrote sadly to the French princes who had fled from their country and were gathering in arms at Coblentz, "by the part I have taken." But the opinion of the people was slowly drifting to his side. A sale of thirty thousand copies showed that the "Reflections" echoed the general sentiment of Englishmen. The mood of England indeed at this moment was unfavourable to any fair appreciation of the Revolution across the Channel. Her temper was above all industrial. Men who were working hard and fast growing rich, who had the narrow and practical turn of men of business, looked angrily at this sudden disturbance of order, this restless and vague activity, these rhetorical appeals to human feeling, these abstract and often empty theories. In England it was a time of political content and social well-being, of steady economic progress, and of a powerful religious revival; and an insular lack of imaginative interest in other races hindered men from seeing that every element of this content, of this order, of this peaceful and harmonious progress, of this reconciliation of society and religion was wanting abroad. The sympathy which the Revolution had roused at first among Englishmen died away before the violence of its legislative changes, and the growing anarchy of the country. Sympathy in fact was soon limited to a few groups of reformers who gathered in "Constitutional Clubs," and whose reckless language quickened the national reaction. But in spite of Burke's appeals and the cries of the nobles who had fled from France and longed only to march against their country, Europe held back from war, and Pitt preserved his attitude of neutrality, though with a greater appearance of reserve.

Burke's success with the country

So anxious, in fact, did the aspect of affairs in the East make Pitt for the restoration of tranquillity in France, that he foiled a plan which its emigrant nobles had formed for a descent on the French coast, and declared formally at Vienna that England would remain absolutely neutral should hostilities arise between

Conference of Pillnitz

France and the Emperor. But the Emperor was as anxious to avoid a French war as Pitt himself. Though Catherine, now her strife with Turkey was over, wished to plunge the two German Powers into a struggle with the Revolution which would leave her free to annex Poland single-handed, neither Leopold nor Prussia would tie their hands by such a contest. The flight of Lewis the Sixteenth from Paris in June 1791 brought Europe for a moment to the verge of war; but he was intercepted and brought back; and for a while the danger seemed to incline the revolutionists in France to greater moderation. Lewis too not only accepted the Constitution, but pleaded earnestly with the Emperor against any armed intervention as certain to bring ruin to his throne. In their conference at Pillnitz therefore, in August, Leopold and the King of Prussia contented themselves with a vague declaration inviting the European powers to co-operate in restoring a sound form of government in France, availed themselves of England's neutrality to refuse all military aid to the French princes, and dealt simply with the affairs of Poland. But the peace they desired soon became impossible. The Constitutional Royalists in France availed themselves of the irritation caused by the Declaration of Pillnitz to rouse again the cry for a war which, as they hoped, would give strength to the throne. The more violent revolutionists, or Jacobins, on the other hand, under the influence of the "Girondists," or deputies from the south of France, whose aim was a republic, and who saw in a great national struggle a means of overthrowing the monarchy, decided in spite of the opposition of their leader, Robespierre, on a contest with the Emperor. Both parties united to demand the breaking up of an army which the emigrant princes had formed on the Rhine; and though Leopold assented to this demand, France declared war against his successor, Francis, in April 1792.

Coalition against France

Misled by their belief in a revolutionary enthusiasm in England, the French had hoped for her alliance in this war; and they were astonished and indignant at Pitt's resolve to stand apart from the struggle. It was in vain that Pitt strove to allay this irritation by demanding only that Holland should remain untouched, and promising neutrality even though Belgium should be occupied by a French army, or that he strengthened these

Pitt's Struggle for Peace

pledges by a reduction of military forces, and by bringing forward a peace-budget which rested on a large remission of taxation. The revolutionists still clung to the hope of England's aid in the emancipation of Europe, but they came now to believe that England must itself be emancipated before such an aid could be given. Their first work therefore they held to be the bringing about a revolution in England which might free the people from the aristocracy which held it down, and which oppressed, as they believed, great peoples beyond the bounds of England itself. To rouse India, to rouse Ireland to a struggle which should shake off the English yoke, became necessary steps to the establishment of freedom in England. From this moment therefore French agents were busy "sowing the revolution" in each quarter. In Ireland they entered into communication with the United Irishmen. In India they appeared at the courts of the native princes. In England itself they strove through the Constitutional Clubs to rouse the same spirit which they had roused in France; and the French envoy, Chauvelin, protested warmly against a proclamation which denounced this correspondence as seditious. The effect of these revolutionary efforts on the friends of the Revolution was seen in a declaration which they wrested from Fox, that at such a moment even the discussion of parliamentary reform was inexpedient. Meanwhile Burke was working hard, in writings whose extravagance of style was forgotten in their intensity of feeling, to spread alarm throughout Europe. He had from the first encouraged the emigrant princes to take arms, and sent his son to join them at Coblentz. "Be alarmists," he wrote to them; "diffuse terror!" But the royalist terror which he sowed had roused a revolutionary terror in France itself. At the threat of war against the Emperor the two German Courts had drawn together, and reluctantly abandoning all hope of peace with France, gathered eighty thousand men under the Duke of Brunswick, and advanced slowly in August on the Meuse. France, though she had forced on the struggle, was really almost defenceless; her forces in Belgium broke at the first shock of arms into shameful rout; and the panic spreading from the army to the nation at large, took violent and horrible forms. At the first news of Brunswick's advance the mob of Paris broke into the Tuileries on the 10th of

The Coalition attacks France

1792

"DE QUOI VOUS PLAIGNEZ-VOUS?"
After Raffet.

August; and at its demand Lewis, who had taken refuge in the Assembly, was suspended from his office and imprisoned in the Temple. In September, while General Dumouriez by boldness and adroit negotiations arrested the progress of the allies in the defiles of the Argonne, bodies of paid murderers butchered the royalist prisoners who crowded the gaols of Paris, with a view of influencing the elections to a new Convention which met to proclaim the abolition of royalty. The retreat of the Prussian army, whose numbers had been reduced by disease till an advance on Paris became impossible, and a brilliant victory won by Dumouriez at Jemappes which laid the Netherlands at his feet, turned the panic of the French into a wild self-confidence. In November the Convention decreed that France offered the aid of her soldiers to all nations who would strive for freedom. "All Governments are our enemies," said its President; "all peoples are our allies." In the teeth of treaties signed only two years before, and of the stipulation made by England when it pledged itself to neutrality, the French Government resolved to attack Holland, and ordered its generals to enforce by arms the opening of the Scheldt.

France declares War on England

To do this was to force England into war. Public opinion was pressing harder day by day upon Pitt. The horror of the massacres of September, the hideous despotism of the Parisian mob, had done more to estrange England from the Revolution than all the eloquence of Burke. But even while withdrawing our Minister from Paris on the imprisonment of the King, Pitt clung stubbornly to the hope of peace. His hope was to bring the war to an end through English mediation, and to "leave France, which I believe is the best way, to arrange its own internal affairs as it can." No hour of Pitt's life is so great as the hour when he stood alone in England, and refused to bow to the growing cry of the nation for war. Even the news of the September massacres could only force from him a hope that France might abstain from any war of conquest, and escape from its social anarchy. In October the French agent in England reported that Pitt was about to recognize the Republic. At the opening of November he still pressed on Holland a steady neutrality. It was France, and not England, which at last wrenched from his grasp the peace to

PROCLAMATION

DU

CONSEIL EXÉCUTIF

PROVISOIRE.

EXTRAIT des Regiſtres du Conſeil, du 20 Janvier 1793, l'an ſecond de la République.

LE Conſeil exécutif proviſoire délibérant ſur les meſures à prendre pour l'exécution du décret de la Convention nationale, des 15. 17. 19 & 20 janvier 1793, arrête les diſpoſitions ſuivantes :

1.° L'exécution du jugement de Louis Capet ſe fera demain lundi 21.

2.° Le lieu de l'exécution ſera la *Place de la Révolution*, ci-devant *Louis XV*, entre le pied-d'eſtal & les Champs-élyſées.

3.° Louis Capet partira du Temple à huit heures du matin, de manière que l'exécution puiſſe être faite à midi.

4.° Des Commiſſaires du Département de Paris, des Commiſſaires de la Municipalité, deux membres du Tribunal criminel aſſiſteront à l'exécution ; le Secrétaire-greffier de ce Tribunal en dreſſera le procès-verbal, & leſdits Commiſſaires & Membres du Tribunal, auſſitôt après l'exécution conſommée, viendront en rendre compte au Conſeil, lequel reſtera en ſéance permanente pendant toute cette journée.

Le Conſeil exécutif proviſoire.

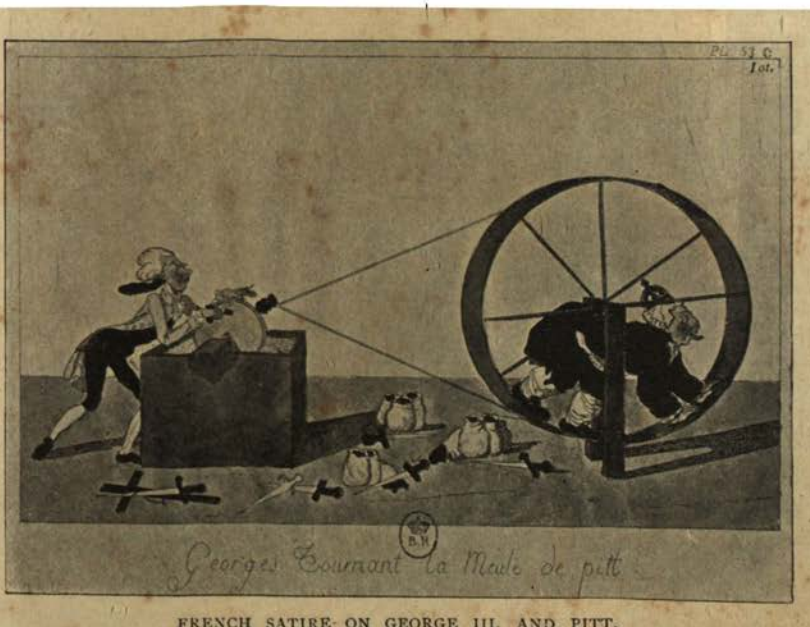
ROLAND, CLAVIERE, MONGE, LEBRUN, GARAT, PASCHE.

Par le Conſeil, GROUVELLE.

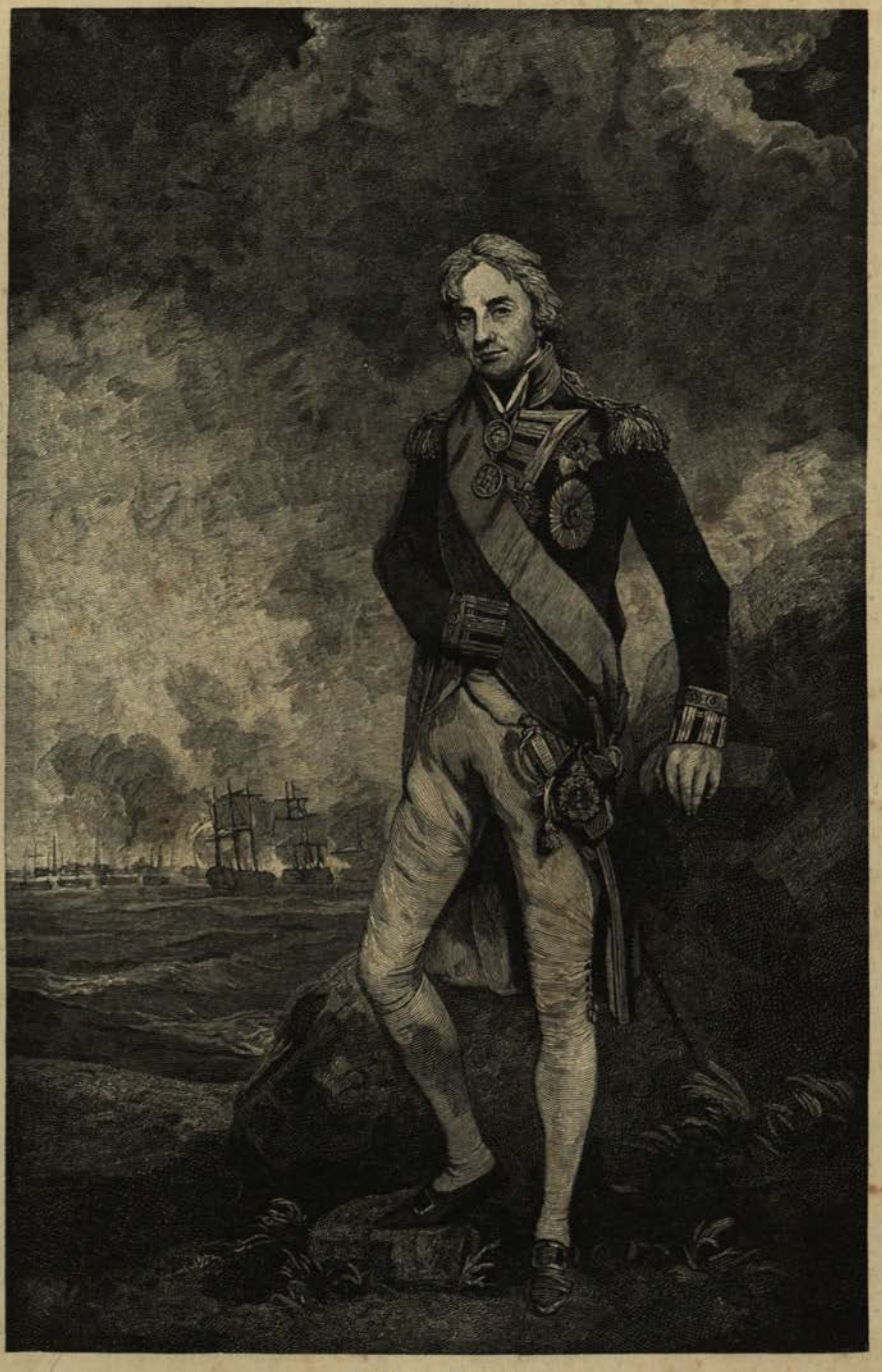
A PARIS, DE L'IMPRIMERIE NATIONALE EXÉCUTIVE DU LOUVRE. 1793.

PLACARD OF ORDER FOR THE EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI.
Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

which he clung so desperately. The decree of the Convention and the attack on the Dutch left him no choice but war, for it was impossible for England to endure a French fleet at Antwerp, or to desert allies like the United Provinces. But even in December the news of the approaching partition of Poland nerved him to a last struggle for peace; he offered to aid Austria in acquiring Bavaria if she would make terms with France, and pledged himself to France to abstain from war if that power would cease from violating the independence of her neighbour states. But across the Channel his moderation was only taken for fear, while in England the general mourning which followed on the news of the French King's execution showed the growing ardour for the contest. The rejection of his last offers indeed made a contest inevitable. Both sides ceased from diplomatic communications, and in February, 1793, France issued her Declaration of War.



FRENCH SATIRE ON GEORGE III. AND PITT.
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.



HORATIO NELSON.
Portrait by J. Hoppner, in St. James's Palace.

Section IV.—The War with France, 1793—1815

[*Authorities.*—To those mentioned before we may add Moore's Life of Sheridan; the Lives of Lord Castlereagh, Lord Eldon, and Lord Sidmouth; Romilly's Memoirs; Lord Cornwallis's Correspondence; Mr. Yonge's Life of Lord Liverpool; the Diaries and Correspondence of Lord Malmesbury, Lord Colchester, and Lord Auckland. For the general history of England at this time, see Alison's "History of Europe;" for its military history, Sir William Napier's "History of the Peninsular War."]

Pitt and the War

From the moment when France declared war against England Pitt's power was at an end. His pride, his immoveable firmness, and the general confidence of the nation still kept him at the head of affairs; but he could do little save drift along with a tide of popular feeling which he never fully understood. The very excellences of his character unfitted him for the conduct of a war. He was in fact a Peace Minister, forced into war by a panic and enthusiasm which he shared in a very small degree, and unaided by his father's gift of at once entering into the sympathies and passions around him, and of rousing passions and sympathies in return. Around him the country broke out in a fit of frenzy and alarm which rivalled the passion and panic over-sea. The confidence of France in its illusions as to opinion in England deluded for the moment even Englishmen themselves. The partisans of Republicanism were in reality but a few handfuls of men who played at gathering Conventions, and at calling themselves citizens and patriots, in childish imitation of what was going on across the Channel. But in the mass of Englishmen the dread of revolution passed for the hour into sheer panic. Even the bulk of the Whig party forsook Fox when he still proclaimed his faith in France and the Revolution. The "Old Whigs," as they called themselves, with the Duke of Portland, Earls Spencer and Fitzwilliam, and

ENGLISH SAILOR, 1779.
Contemporary Print.

The English panic

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Mr. Windham at their head, followed Burke in giving their adhesion to the Government. Pitt himself, though little touched by the political reaction around him, was shaken by the dream of social danger, and believed in the existence of "thousands of bandits," who were ready to rise against the throne, to plunder every landlord, and to sack London. "Paine is no fool," he said to his niece, who quoted to him a passage from the "Rights of Man," in which that author had vindicated the principles of the Revolution; "he is perhaps right; but if I did what he wants, I should have thousands of bandits on my hands to-morrow, and

London burnt." It was this sense of social danger which alone reconciled him to the war. Bitter as the need of the struggle which was forced upon England was to him, he accepted it with the less reluctance that war, as he trusted, would check the progress of "French principles" in England itself. The worst issue of this panic was the series of legislative measures in which it found expression. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, a bill against seditious assemblies restricted the liberty of public meeting and a wider scope was given to the Statute of Treasons. Prosecution after prosecution was directed against the Press; the sermons of some dissenting ministers were indicted as seditious;

Results of the panic

and the conventions of sympathizers with France were roughly broken up. The worst excesses of the panic were witnessed in Scotland, where young Whigs, whose only offence was an advocacy of Parliamentary reform, were sentenced to transportation, and where a brutal judge openly expressed his regret that the practice of torture in seditious cases should have fallen into disuse. The panic indeed soon passed away for sheer want of material to feed on. In 1794 the leaders of the Corresponding Society, a body which professed sympathy with France, were brought to trial on a charge of high treason, but their acquittal proved that all active terror was over. Save for occasional riots, to which the poor were goaded by sheer want of bread, no social disturbance troubled England through the twenty years of the war. But the blind reaction against all reform which had sprung from the panic lasted on when the panic was forgotten.

For nearly a quarter of a century it was hard to get a hearing for any measure which threatened change to an existing institution, beneficial though the change might be. Even the philanthropic movement which so nobly characterized the time found itself checked and hampered by the dread of revolution.

France and the Coalition

At first indeed all seemed to go ill for France. She was girt in by a ring of enemies; the Empire, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Spain, and England were leagued in arms against her; and their efforts were seconded by civil war. The peasants of Poitou and Britanny rose

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in revolt against the government at Paris, while Marseilles and Lyons were driven into insurrection by the violent leaders who now seized on power in the capital. The French armies were driven back from the Netherlands when ten thousand English soldiers, under the Duke of York, joined the Austrians in Flanders in 1793. But the chance of crushing the Revolution was lost by the greed of the two German powers. Russia, as Pitt had foreseen, was now free to carry out her schemes in the East; and Austria and Prussia saw themselves forced, in the interest of a balance of power, to share in her annexations at the cost of Poland. But

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.
From an engraving by Fiesinger of a picture by Guérin.

this new division of Poland would have become impossible had France been enabled by a restoration of its monarchy to take up again its natural position in Europe, and to accept the alliance which Pitt would in such a case have offered her. The policy of the German courts therefore was to prolong an anarchy which left them free for the moment to crush Poland: and the allied armies which might have marched upon Paris were purposely frittered away in sieges in the Netherlands and the Rhine. Such a policy gave France time to recover from the shock of her

disasters. Whatever were the crimes and tyranny of her leaders, France felt in spite of them the value of the Revolution, and rallied enthusiastically to its support. The revolts in the West and South were crushed. The Spanish invaders were held at bay at the foot of the Pyrenees, and the Piedmontese were driven from Nice and Savoy. The great port of Toulon, which called for foreign aid against the Government of Paris, and admitted an English garrison within its walls, was driven to surrender by measures counselled by a young artillery officer from Corsica, Napoleon Buonaparte. At the opening of 1794 a victory at Fleurus which again made the French masters of the Netherlands showed that the tide had turned. France was united within by the cessation of the Terror and of the tyranny of the Jacobins, while on every border victory followed the gigantic efforts with which she met the coalition against her. Spain sued for peace; Prussia withdrew her armies from the Rhine; the Sardinians were driven back from the Maritime Alps; the Rhine provinces were wrested from the Austrians; and before the year ended Holland was lost. Pichegru crossed the Waal in mid-winter with an overwhelming force, and the wretched remnant of ten thousand men who had followed the Duke of York to the Netherlands, thinned by disease and by the hardships of retreat, re-embarked for England.

Revival of France

Break up of the Coalition

The victories of France broke up the confederacy which had threatened it with destruction. The Batavian republic which Pichegru had set up after his conquest of Holland was now an ally of France. Prussia bought peace by the cession of her possessions west of the Rhine. Peace with Spain followed in the summer, while Sweden and the Protestant cantons of Switzerland recognized the Republic. In France itself discord came well-nigh to an end. The fresh severities against the ultra-republicans which followed on the establishment of a Directory indicated the moderate character of the new government, and Pitt seized on this change in the temper of the French government as giving an opening for peace. Pitt himself was sick of the strife. England had maintained indeed her naval supremacy. The triumphs of her seamen were in strange contrast with her weakness on land; and at the outset of the contest, in 1794, the French fleet was defeated off Brest by Lord Howe in a victory which bore the

1795

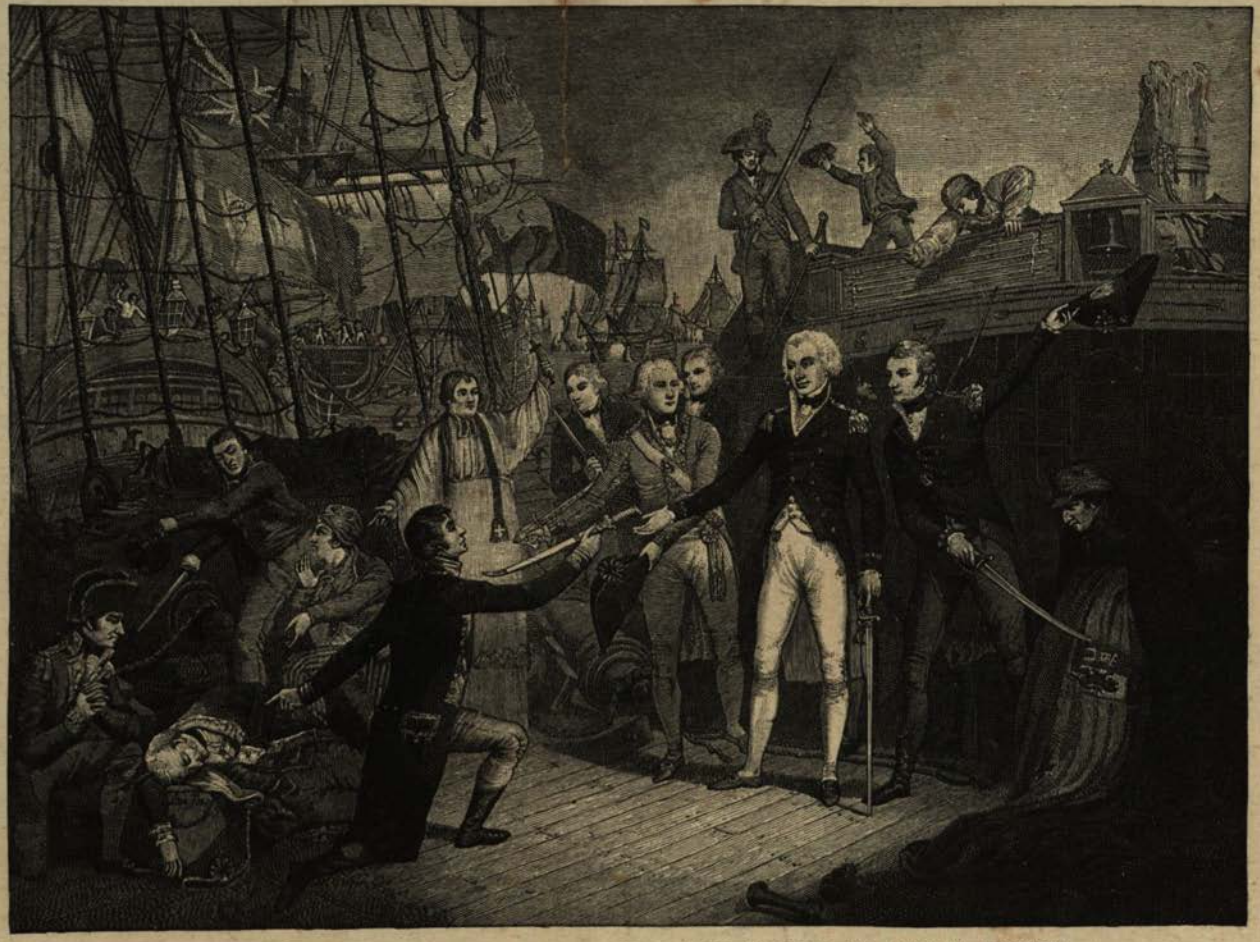
"THE GLORIOUS FIRST OF JUNE."

From engraving by T. Medland of a picture by R. Cleveley, R.N.

name of the day on which it was won, the First of June. Her colonial gains too had been considerable. Most of the West Indian islands, which had been held by France, and the far more valuable settlements of the Dutch, the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, and the famous Spice Islands of the Malaccas and Java had been transferred to the British Crown. But Pitt was without means of efficiently carrying on the war. The army was small and without military experience, while its leaders were utterly incapable. "We have no General," wrote Lord Grenville, "but some old woman in a red riband." Wretched too as had been the conduct of the war, its cost was already terrible. If England was without soldiers, she had wealth, and Pitt had been forced to turn her wealth into an engine of war. He became the paymaster of the coalition, and his subsidies kept the allied armies in the field. But the immense loans which these called for, and the quick growth of expenditure, undid all his financial reforms. Taxation, which had reached its lowest point under Pitt's peace administration, mounted to a height undreamt of before. The public debt rose by leaps and bounds. In three years nearly eighty millions had been added to it.

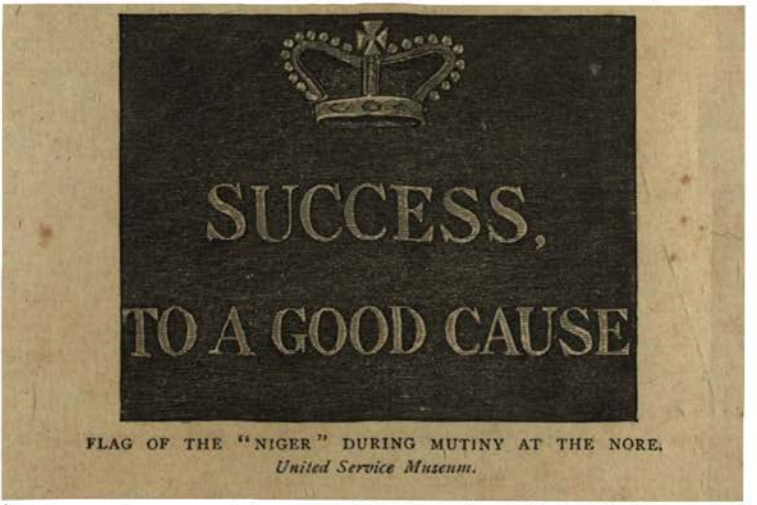
Progress of the War

But though the ruin of his financial hopes, and his keen sense of the European dangers which the contest involved, made Pitt earnest to close the struggle with the Revolution, he stood almost alone in his longings for peace. The nation at large was still ardent for war, and its ardour was fired by Burke in his "Letters on a Regicide Peace," the last outcry of that fanaticism which had done so much to plunge the world in blood. Nor was France less ardent for war than England. At the moment when Pitt sought 1796
to open negotiations, her victories had roused hopes of wider conquests, and though General Moreau was foiled in a march on Vienna, the wonderful successes of Napoleon Buonaparte, who now took the command of the army of the Alps, laid Piedmont at her feet. Lombardy was soon in the hands of the French, the Duchies south of the Po pillaged, and the Pope driven to purchase an armistice. Fresh victories enabled Buonaparte to wring a peace from Austria in the treaty of Campo Formio, which not only gave *Oct.* 1797
France the Ionian Islands, a part of the old territory of Venice, as well as the Netherlands and the whole left bank of the Rhine, but



NELSON RECEIVING THE SURRENDER OF THE SPANISH ADMIRAL AT CAPE ST. VINCENT.
Picture by D. Orme, 1800

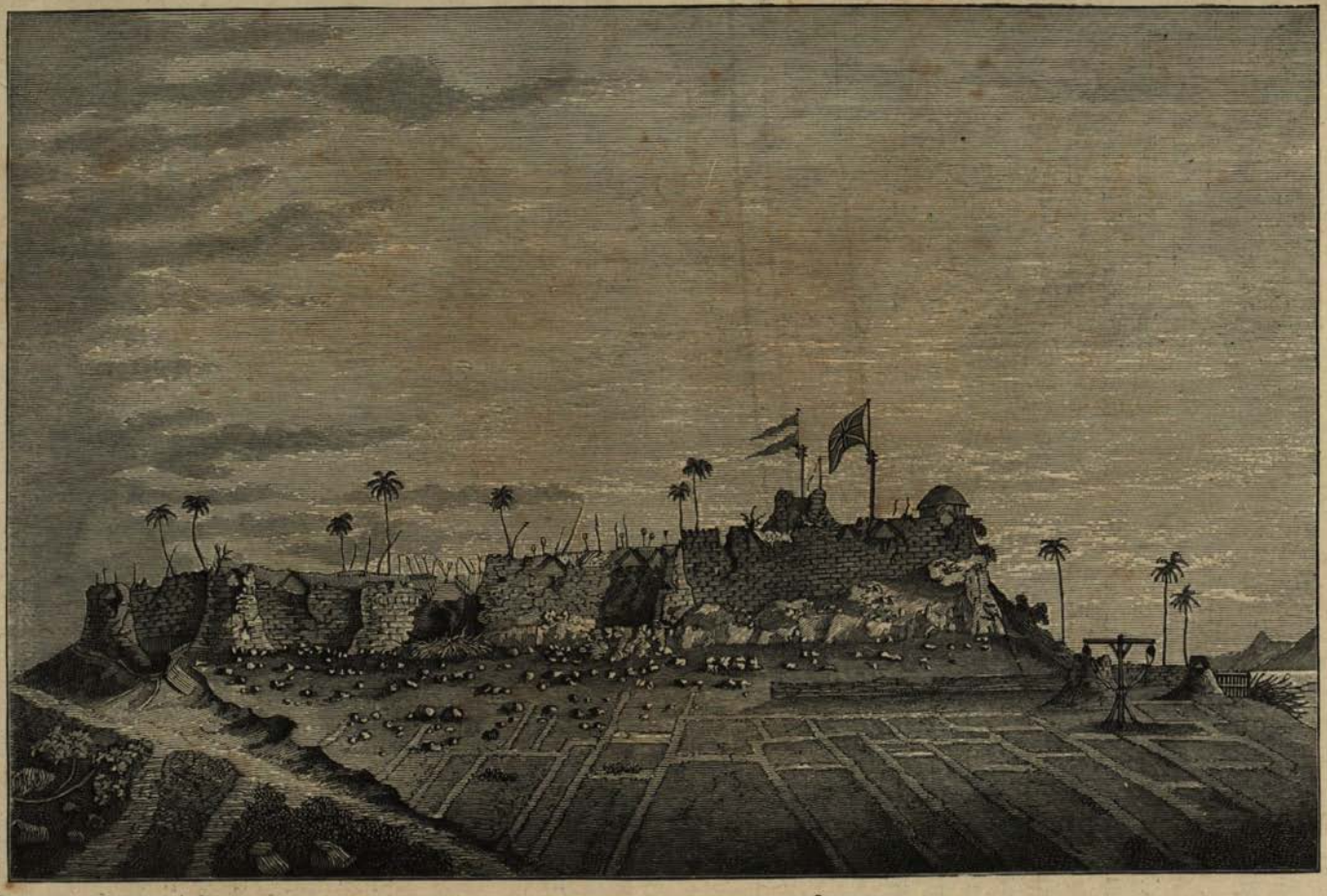
united Lombardy with the Duchies south of the Po, and the Papal States as far as the Rubicon, into a "Cisalpine Republic," which was absolutely beneath her control. The withdrawal of Austria left France without an enemy on the Continent, and England without an ally. The stress of the war was pressing more heavily on her every day. The alarm of a French invasion of Ireland brought about a suspension of specie payments on the part of the Bank. A mutiny in the fleet was suppressed with difficulty. It was in this darkest hour of the struggle that Burke passed away, protesting to the last against the peace which, in spite of his previous failure, Pitt tried in 1797 to negotiate at Lille. Peace seemed more needful to him than ever; for the naval supremacy of



FLAG OF THE "NIGER" DURING MUTINY AT THE NORE.
United Service Museum.

Britain was threatened by a coalition such as had all but crushed her in the American war. Again the Dutch and Spanish fleets were allied with the fleets of France, and if they gained command of the Channel, it would enable France to send overwhelming forces in aid of the rising which was planned in Ireland. But the danger had hardly threatened when it was dispelled by two great victories. When in 1797 the Spanish fleet put out to sea, it was attacked by Admiral Jervis off Cape St. Vincent and driven back to Cadiz with the loss of four of its finest vessels; while the Dutch fleet from the Texel, which was to protect a French force in its descent upon Ireland, was met by a far larger fleet under Admiral Duncan, and almost annihilated in a battle off Camperdown, after

Cape St. Vincent Feb. 14



ONORE FORT AFTER SIEGE IN 1783.
Forbes, "Oriental Memoirs."

an obstinate struggle which showed the Hollanders still worthy of their old renown. The ruin of its hopes in the battle of Camperdown drove Ireland to a rising of despair; but the revolt was crushed by the defeat of the insurgents at Vinegar Hill in May, 1798, and the surrender of General Humbert, who landed in August with a French force. Of the threefold attack on which the Directory relied, two parts had now broken down. England still held the seas, and the insurrection in Ireland had failed. The next year saw the crowning victory of the Nile. The genius of Buonaparte had seized on the schemes for a rising in India, where Tippoo Sahib, the successor of Hyder Ali in Mysore, had vowed to drive the English from the south; and he laid before the Directory a plan for the conquest of Egypt as a preliminary to a campaign in Southern India. In 1798 he landed in Egypt; and its conquest was rapid and complete. But the thirteen men-of-war which had escorted his expedition were found by Admiral Nelson in Aboukir Bay, moored close to the coast in a line guarded at either end by gun-boats and batteries. Nelson resolved to thrust his own ships between the French and the shore; his flagship led the way; and after a terrible fight of twelve hours, nine of the French vessels were captured and destroyed, two were burnt, and five thousand French seamen were killed or made prisoners. All communication between France and Buonaparte's army was cut off; and his hopes of making Egypt a starting-point for the conquest of India fell at a blow.

Camperdown Oct. 11

MECHANICAL TIGER MADE FOR TIPPOO SULTAN.
India Museum.

Battle of the Nile Aug. 1, 1798

Freed from the dangers that threatened her rule in Ireland and in India, and mistress of the seas, England was free to attack France; and in such an attack she was aided at this moment by the temper of the European powers, and the ceaseless aggressions of France. Russia formed a close alliance with Austria; and it was with renewed hope that Pitt lavished subsidies on the two

The Peace of Luneville

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allies. A union of the Russian and Austrian armies drove the French back again across the Alps and the Rhine; but the stubborn energy of General Massena enabled his soldiers to hold their ground in Switzerland; and the attempt of a united force of Russians and English to wrest Holland from its French masters was successfully repulsed. In the East, however, England was more successful. Foiled in his dreams of Indian conquests, Buonaparte conceived the design of the conquest of Syria, and of the creation of an army among its warlike mountaineers, with which he might march upon Constantinople or India at his will. But Acre, the key of Syria, was stubbornly held by the Turks, the French battering train was captured at sea by an English captain,

MEDAL COMMEMORATING BATTLE OF MARENGO.

Sir Sidney Smith, whose seamen aided in the defence of the place, and the besiegers were forced to fall back upon Egypt. The French general despairing of success left his army and returned to France. His arrival in Paris was soon followed by the overthrow

Nov. 10, 1799 of the Directors. Three consuls took their place; but under the name of First Consul Buonaparte became in effect sole ruler of the country. His energy at once changed the whole face of European affairs. The offers of peace which he made to England and Austria were intended to do little more than to shake the coalition, and gain breathing time for the organization of a new force which was gathering in secrecy at Dijon, while Moreau with the army of

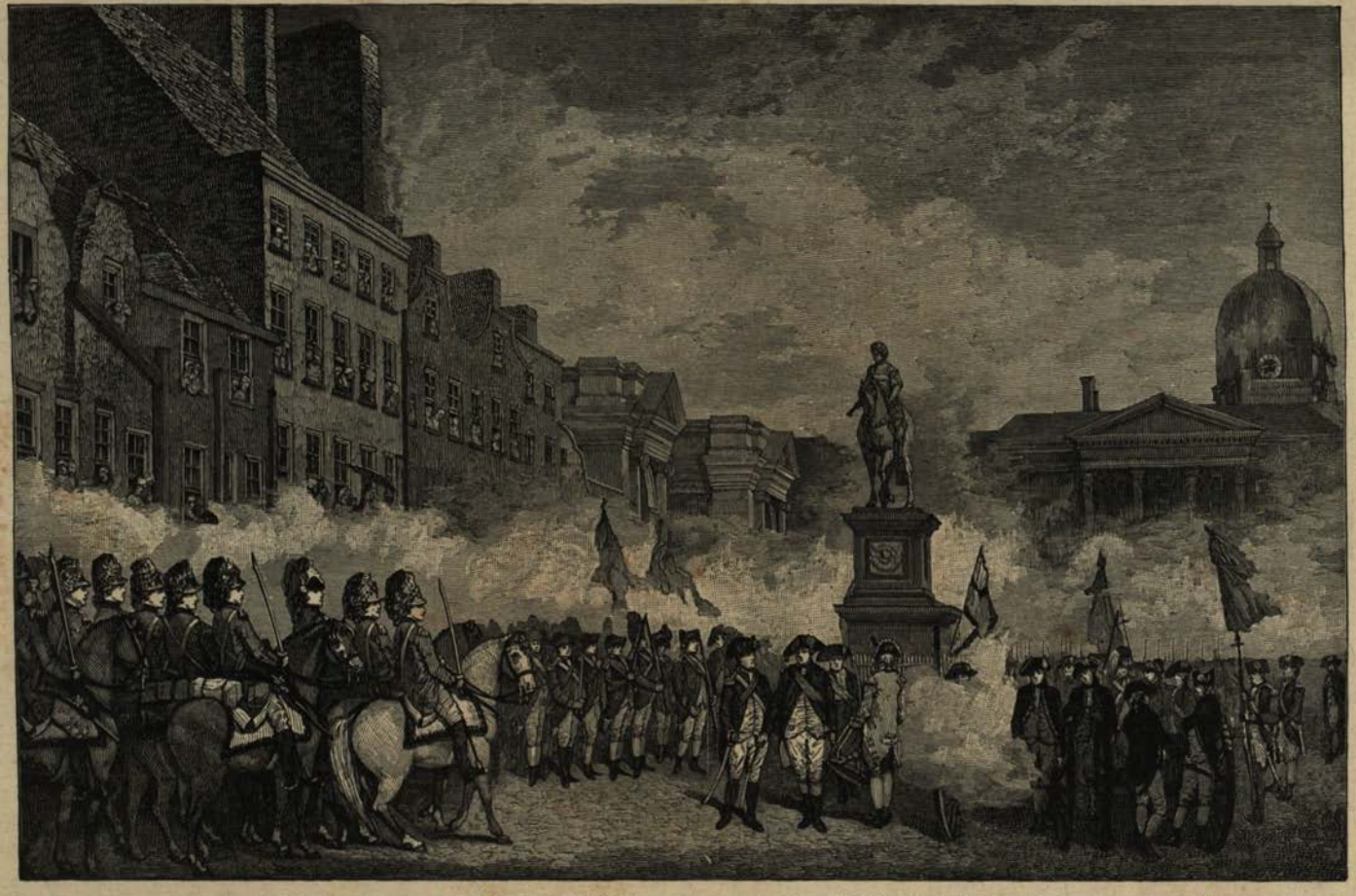
June 14, 1800 the Rhine pushed again along the Danube. The First Consul crossed the Saint Bernard in 1800, and a victory at Marengo

forced the Austrians to surrender Lombardy; while a truce arrested the march of Moreau, who had captured Munich and was pushing on to Vienna. On the resumption of the war in the autumn the Austrians were driven back on Vienna; and Moreau crushed their army on the Iser in the victory of Hohenlinden. In February, 1801, the Continental War was brought suddenly to an end by the Peace of Luneville.

Ireland under the Georges

It was but a few months before the close of the war that Pitt brought about the Union of Ireland with England. The history of Ireland, during the fifty years that followed its conquest by William the Third, is one which no Englishman can recall without shame. After the surrender of Limerick every Catholic Irishman, and there were five Irish Catholics to every Irish Protestant, was treated as a stranger and a foreigner in his own country. The House of Lords, the House of Commons, the magistracy, all corporate offices in towns, all ranks in the army, the bench, the bar, the whole administration of government or justice, were closed against Catholics. The very right of voting for their representatives in Parliament was denied them. Few Catholic landowners had been left by the sweeping confiscations which had followed the successive revolts of the island, and oppressive laws forced even these few with scant exceptions to profess Protestantism. Necessity, indeed, had brought about a practical toleration of their religion and their worship; but in all social and political matters the native Catholics, in other words the immense majority of the people of Ireland, were simply hewers of wood and drawers of water to their Protestant masters, who looked on them-

AN IRISH CHIEF.
Caricature by Gillray.



THE DUBLIN VOLUNTEERS SALUTING THE STATUE OF WILLIAM III. ON COLLEGE GREEN, NOVEMBER 4, 1798.
Picture by Francis Wheatley.

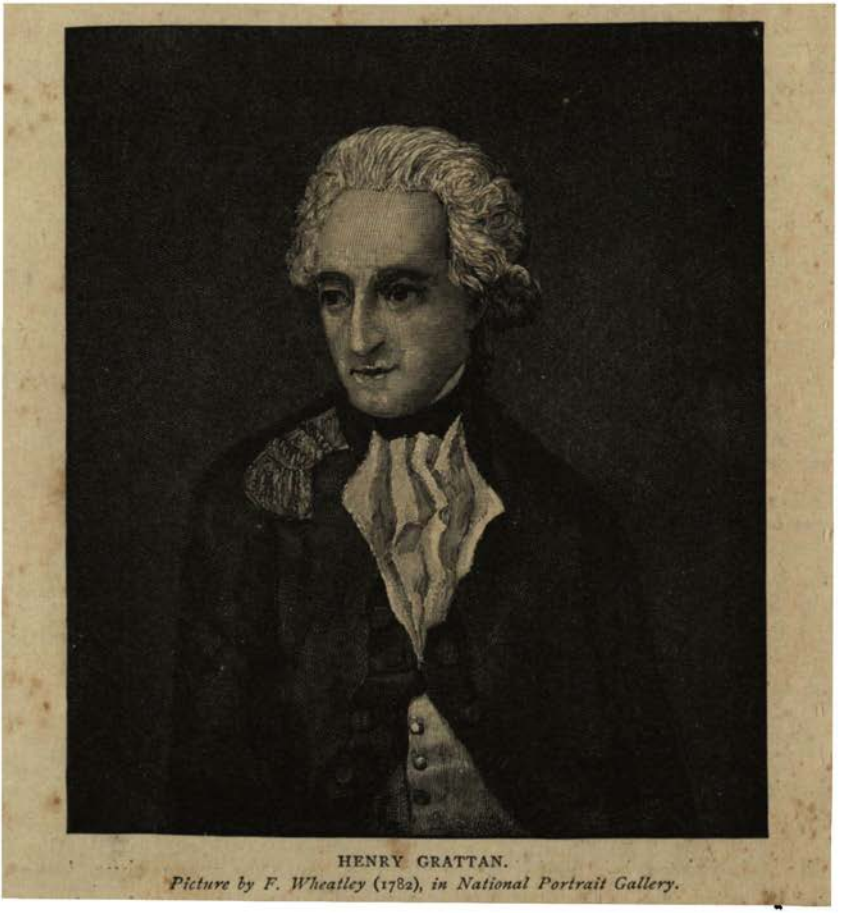
selves as mere settlers, who boasted of their Scotch or English extraction, and who regarded the name of "Irishman" as an insult. But small as was this Protestant body, one half of it fared little better, as far as power was concerned, than the Catholics; for the Presbyterians, who formed the bulk of the Ulster settlers, were shut out by law from all civil, military, and municipal offices.

JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN.
From J. Raphael Smith's engraving of a picture by Lawrence.

Government in Ireland

The administration and justice of the country were thus kept rigidly in the hands of members of the Established Church, a body which comprised about a twelfth of the population of the island; while its government was practically monopolized by a few great Protestant landowners. The rotten boroughs, which had originally been created to make the Irish Parliament dependent on the Crown, had fallen under the influence of the adjacent landlords, who were thus masters of the House of Commons, while they formed in person the House of Peers. During the first half of the

eighteenth century two-thirds of the House of Commons, in fact, was returned by a small group of nobles, who were recognized as "parliamentary undertakers," and who undertook to "manage" Parliament on their own terms. Irish politics were for these men a means of public plunder; they were glutted with pensions, preferments, and bribes in hard cash in return for their services;



HENRY GRATTAN.
Picture by F. Wheatley (1782), in National Portrait Gallery.

they were the advisers of every Lord-Lieutenant, and the practical governors of the country. The only check to the tyranny of this narrow and corrupt oligarchy was in the connexion of Ireland with England and the subordination of its Parliament to the English Privy Council. The Irish Parliament had no power of originating legislative or financial measures, and could only say "yes" or "no" to Acts submitted to it by the Privy Council in England.

The English Parliament too claimed the right of binding Ireland as well as England by its enactments, and one of its statutes transferred the appellate jurisdiction of the Irish Peerage to the English House of Lords. But as if to compensate for the benefits of its protection, England did her best to annihilate Irish commerce and to ruin Irish agriculture. Statutes passed by the jealousy of English landowners forbade the export of Irish cattle or sheep to English ports. The export of wool was forbidden, lest

HENRY FLOOD.
From an engraving in Barrington's "Historic Memoirs," of a drawing by Comerford.

it might interfere with the profits of English wool-growers. Poverty was thus added to the curse of misgovernment; and poverty deepened with the rapid growth of the native population, till famine turned the country into a hell.

Pitt and Ireland

The bitter lesson of the last conquest, however, long sufficed to check all dreams of revolt among the natives, and the outbreaks which sprang from time to time out of the general misery and discontent were purely social in their character, and were roughly repressed by the ruling class. When political revolt threatened at

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last, the threat came from the ruling class itself. At the very outset of the reign of George the Third, the Irish Parliament insisted on its claim to the exclusive control of money bills, and a cry was raised for the removal of the checks imposed on its independence. But it was not till the American war that this cry became a political danger, a danger so real that England was forced to give way. From the close of the war, when the Irish Volunteers wrung legislative independence from the Rockingham

IRISH LINEN MANUFACTURE, 1783:—PLOUGHING—SOWING—HARROWING.

Ministry, England and Ireland were simply held together by the fact that the sovereign of the one island was also the sovereign of the other. During the next eighteen years Ireland was "independent;" but its independence was a mere name for the uncontrolled rule of a few noble families and of the Irish Executive backed by the support of the English Government. To such a length had the whole system of monopoly and patronage been carried, that at the time of the Union more than sixty seats were in the hands of three families alone, those of the Hills, the Ponsonbys, and the Beresfords; while the dominant influence in

Independence of Ireland 1782

the Parliament now lay with the Treasury boroughs at the disposal of the Government. The victory of the Volunteers immediately produced measures in favour of the Catholics and Presbyterians. The Volunteers had already in 1780 won for the Presbyterians, who formed a good half of their force, full political liberty by the abolition of the Sacramental Test; and the Irish Parliament of 1782 removed at once the last grievances of the Protestant Dissenters. The Catholics were rewarded for their aid by the repeal of the more grossly oppressive enactments of the

PULLING FLAX—STOOKING—RIPLING—BOGGING.

penal laws. But when Grattan, supported by the bulk of the Irish party, pleaded for Parliamentary reform, and for the grant of equal rights to the Catholics, he was utterly foiled by the small group of borough owners, who chiefly controlled the Government and the Parliament. The ruling class found government too profitable to share it with other possessors. It was only by hard bribery that the English Viceroys could secure their co-operation in the simplest measures of administration. "If ever there was a country unfit to govern itself," said Lord Hutchinson, "it is Ireland. A corrupt aristocracy, a ferocious commonalty, a

distracted Government, a divided people!" In Pitt's eyes the danger of Ireland lay above all in the misery of its people. Although the Irish Catholics were held down by the brute force of their Protestant rulers, he saw that their discontent was growing fast into rebellion, and that one secret of their discontent at any rate lay in Irish poverty, a poverty increased if not originally brought about by the jealous exclusion of Irish products from their natural markets in England itself. In 1779 Ireland had won from Lord

TAKING FLAX OUT OF BOG—SPREADING TO DRY—STORING—BEETLING—BREAKING.

North large measures of free-trade abroad; but the heavy duties laid by the English Parliament on all Irish manufactures save linen and woollen yarn still shut them out of England. One of
1785 Pitt's first commercial measures aimed at putting an end to this exclusion by a bill which established freedom of trade between the two islands. His first proposals were accepted in the Irish Parliament; but the fears and jealousies of the English farmers and manufacturers forced into the Bill amendments which gave to the British Parliament powers over Irish navigation and commerce, thus over-riding their newly-won independence, and

the measure in its new form was rejected in Ireland. The outbreak of the revolutionary struggle, and the efforts which the French revolutionists at once made to excite rebellion amongst the Irish, roused Pitt to fresh measures of conciliation and good government. In 1793 he forced the Irish Administration to abandon a resistance which had wrecked his projects the previous year; and the Irish Parliament passed without opposition measures for the admission of Catholics to the electoral franchise, and to civil and military office within the island, which promised to open a new era

BUTLING—SCUTCHING—HACKLING.

of religious liberty. But the promise came too late. The hope of conciliation was lost in the fast rising tide of religious and social passion. The Society of "United Irishmen," which was founded in 1791 at Belfast by Wolfe Tone with a view of forming a union between Protestants and Catholics to win Parliamentary reform, drifted into a correspondence with France and projects of insurrection. The peasantry, brooding over their misery and their wrongs, were equally stirred by the news from France; and their discontent broke out in outrages of secret societies which spread panic among the ruling classes. The misery was increased by

faction fights between the Protestants and Catholics, which had already broken out before the French Revolution. The Catholics banded themselves together as "Defenders" against the outrages of the "Peep-o'-day Boys," who were mainly drawn from the more violent Presbyterians; and these factions became later merged in the larger associations of the "United Irishmen" and the "Orange-men."

The Union

At last the smouldering discontent and disaffection burst into flame. The panic roused in 1796 by an attempted French

BREAKING AND SCUTCHING BY MACHINERY.

invasion under Hoche woke passions of cruelty and tyranny which turned Ireland into a hell. Soldiers and yeomanry marched over the country torturing and scourging the "croppies," as the Irish peasantry were called in derision from their short-cut hair, robbing, ravishing, and murdering. Their outrages were sanctioned by the landowners who formed the Irish Parliament in a Bill of Indemnity, and protected for the future by an Insurrection Act. Meanwhile the United Irishmen prepared for an insurrection, which was delayed by the failure of the French expeditions

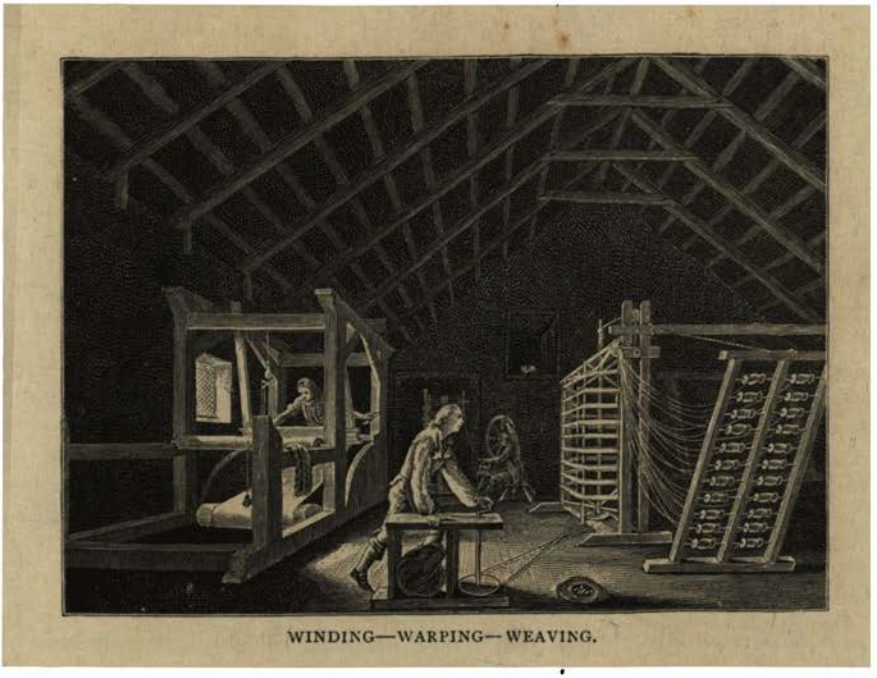
on which they counted for support, and above all by the victory of Camperdown. Atrocities were answered by atrocities when the revolt at last broke out in 1798. Loyalists were lashed and tortured in their turn, and every soldier taken was butchered without mercy. The rebels however no sooner mustered fourteen thousand men strong in a camp on Vinegar Hill, near Enniscorthy, than the camp was stormed by the English troops, and the revolt utterly suppressed. The suppression came only just in time to prevent greater disasters. A few weeks after the close of the

May 21, 1798

SPINNING—REELING WITH THE CLOCK-REEL—BOILING YARN.

rebellion nine hundred French soldiers under General Humbert landed in Mayo, broke a force of thrice their number in a battle at Castlebar, and only surrendered when the Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Cornwallis, faced them with thirty thousand men. Pitt's disgust at "the bigoted fury of Irish Protestants" backed Lord Cornwallis in checking the reprisals of his troops and of the Orangemen ; but the hideous cruelty which he was forced to witness brought about a firm resolve to put an end to the farce of "Independence," which left Ireland helpless in such hands. The political necessity for a union of the two islands had been brought home to every

English statesman by the course of the Irish Parliament during the disputes over the Regency; for while England repelled the claims of the Prince of Wales to the Regency as of right, the legislature of Ireland admitted them. As the only union left between the two peoples was their obedience to a common ruler, such an act might conceivably have ended in their entire severance; and the sense of this danger secured a welcome in England for Pitt's proposal to unite the two Parliaments. The



WINDING—WARPING—WEAVING.

1799 opposition of the Irish boroughmongers was naturally stubborn and determined. But with them it was a sheer question of gold; and their assent was bought with a million in money, and with a liberal distribution of pensions and peerages. Base and shameless as were such means, Pitt may fairly plead that they were the only means by which the bill for the Union could have been passed. As the matter was finally arranged in June 1800, one hundred Irish members became part of the House of Commons at Westminster, and twenty-eight temporal with four spiritual peers, chosen for life by their fellows, took their seats in the House

of Lords. Commerce between the two countries was freed from all restrictions, and every trading privilege of the one thrown open to the other ; while taxation was proportionately distributed between the two peoples.

The lavish creation of peers which formed a part of the price paid for the Union of Ireland brought about a practical change in our constitution. Few bodies have varied more in the number of their members than the House of Lords. At the close of the Wars

WASH MILL—RUBBING BOARDS—BEETLING ENGINE (FOR GLAZING)—BOILING-HOUSE.

of the Roses the lay lords who remained numbered fifty-two ; in Elizabeth's reign they numbered only sixty ; the prodigal creations of the Stuarts raised them to one hundred and seventy-six. At this point, however, they practically remained stationary during the reigns of the first two Georges ; and, as we have seen, only the dogged opposition of Walpole prevented Lord Stanhope from limiting the peerage to the number it had at that time reached. Mischievous as such a measure would have been, it would at any rate have prevented the lavish creation of peerages on which George the Third relied in the early days of his reign as one of his

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Increase of the Peers

means of breaking up the party government which restrained him. But what was with the King a mere means of corruption became with Pitt a settled purpose of bringing the peerage into closer relations with the landowning and opulent classes, and rendering the Crown independent of factious combinations among the existing peers. While himself disdainful of hereditary honours, he lavished them as no Minister had lavished them before. In his first five years of rule he created forty-eight new peers. In two later years alone, 1796-7, he created thirty-five. By 1801 the

WET AND DRY BLEACHING—BLEACH-MILL.

peerages which were the price of the Union with Ireland had helped to raise his creations to upwards of one hundred and forty. So busily was his example followed by his successors that at the end of George the Third's reign the number of hereditary peers had become double what it was at his accession. The whole character of the House of Lords was changed. Up to this time it had been a small assembly of great nobles, bound together by family or party ties into a distinct power in the State. From this time it became the stronghold of property, the representative of the great estates and great fortunes which the vast increase of

English wealth was building up. For the first time, too, in our history it became the distinctly conservative element in our constitution. The full import of Pitt's changes has still to be revealed, but in some ways their results have been clearly marked. The larger number of the peerage, though due to the will of the Crown, has practically freed the House from any influence which the Crown can exert by the distribution of honours. This change, since the power of the Crown has been practically wielded by the

LAPPING-ROOM—MEASURING—CRISPING—FOLDING.

House of Commons, has rendered it far harder to reconcile the free action of the Lords with the regular working of constitutional government. On the other hand, the increased number of its members has rendered the House more responsive to public opinion, when public opinion is strongly pronounced; and the political tact which is inherent in great aristocratic assemblies has hitherto prevented any collision with the Lower House from being pushed to an irreconcilable quarrel.

Catholic Emancipation

But the legislative union of the two countries was only part of the plan which Pitt had conceived for the conciliation of Ireland.

SEC. IV
THE WAR WITH FRANCE 1793 TO 1815

With the conclusion of the Union his projects of free trade between the countries, which had been defeated a few years back, came into play; and in spite of insufficient capital and social disturbance the growth of the trade, shipping, and manufactures of Ireland has gone steadily on from that time to this. The change which brought Ireland directly under the common Parliament was followed too by a gradual revision of its oppressive laws, and an amendment in their administration; taxation was lightened, and a faint beginning made of public instruction. But in Pitt's mind

BROWN LINEN MARKET, BANBRIDGE.

the great means of conciliation was the concession of religious equality. In proposing to the English Parliament the union of the two countries he pointed out that when thus joined to a Protestant country like England all danger of a Catholic supremacy in Ireland, should Catholic disabilities be removed, would be practically at an end; and had suggested that in such a case "an effectual and adequate provision for the Catholic clergy" would be a security for their loyalty. His words gave strength to the hopes of "Catholic Emancipation," or the removal of what remained of the civil disabilities of Catholics, which were held out by the

Pitt's policy

viceroy, Lord Castlereagh, in Ireland itself, as a means of hindering any opposition to the project of Union on the part of the Catholics. It was agreed on all sides that their opposition would have secured its defeat; but no Catholic opposition showed itself. After the passing of the bill, Pitt prepared to lay before the Cabinet a measure which would have raised the Irish Catholic to perfect equality of civil rights. He proposed to remove all religious tests which limited the exercise of the franchise, or were required for admission to Parliament, the magistracy, the bar, municipal offices, or posts in the army, or the service of the State. An oath of allegiance and of fidelity to the Constitution was substituted for the Sacramental test; while the loyalty of the Catholic and Dissenting clergy was secured by a grant of some provision to both by the State. To win over the Episcopal Church, measures were added for strengthening its means of discipline, and for increasing the stipends of its poorer ministers. A commutation of tithes was to remove a constant source of quarrel in Ireland between the Protestant clergy and the Irish people. The scheme was too large and statesmanlike to secure the immediate assent of the Cabinet; and before that assent could be won the plan was communicated through the treachery of the Chancellor, Lord Loughborough, to George the Third. "I count any man my personal enemy," the King broke out angrily to Dundas, "who proposes any such measure." Pitt answered this outburst by submitting his whole plan to the King. "The political circumstances under which the exclusive laws originated," he wrote, "arising either from the conflicting powers of hostile and nearly balanced sects, from the apprehension of a Popish Queen as successor, a disputed succession and a foreign pretender, a division in Europe between Catholic and Protestant Powers, are no longer applicable to the present state of things." But argument was wasted upon George the Third. In spite of the decision of the lawyers whom he consulted, the King held himself bound by his Coronation Oath to maintain the tests. On this point his bigotry was at one with the bigotry of the bulk of his subjects, as well as with their political distrust of Catholics and Irishmen; and his obstinacy was strengthened by a knowledge that his refusal must drive Pitt from office. In February 1801, the month of the Peace of Luneville, Pitt resigned, and was succeeded

Its defeat

Pitt resigns

SEC. IV
THE WAR WITH FRANCE 1793 TO 1815

by the Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. Addington, a weak and narrow-minded man, and as bigoted as the King himself. Of Lord Hawkesbury, who succeeded Lord Grenville in the conduct of foreign affairs, nothing was known outside the House of Commons.

The Addington Ministry

It was with anxiety that England found itself guided by men like these at a time when every hour brought darker news. The scarcity of bread was mounting to a famine. Taxes were raised anew, and yet the loan for the year amounted to five and twenty millions. The country stood utterly alone; while the peace of Luneville secured France from all hostility on the Continent. And it was soon plain that this peace was only the first step in a new policy on the part of the First Consul. What he had done was to free his hands for a decisive conflict with Britain itself, both as a world-power and as a centre of wealth. England was at once the carrier of European commerce, and the workshop of European manufactures. While her mines, her looms, her steam-engines, were giving her almost a monopoly of industrial production, the carrying trade of France and Holland alike had been transferred to the British flag, and the conquest during the war of their richer settlements had thrown into British hands the whole colonial trade of the world. In his gigantic project of a "Continental System" the aim of Buonaparte was to strike at the trade of England by closing the ports of Europe against her ships. By a league of the Northern powers he sought to wrest from her the command of the seas. Denmark and Sweden, who resented the severity with which Britain enforced that right of search which had brought about their armed neutrality at the close of the American war, were enlisted in a league of neutrals which was in effect a declaration of war against England, and which Prussia was prepared to join. The Czar Paul of Russia on his side saw in the power of Britain the chief obstacle to his designs upon Turkey. A squabble over Malta, which had been taken from the Knights of St. John by Buonaparte on his way to Egypt, and had ever since been blockaded by English ships, but whose possession the Czar claimed as his own on the ground of an alleged election as Grand Master of the Order, served him as a pretext for a quarrel with England, and Paul openly prepared for hostilities. It was plain that as soon

The Continental System

EUROPE
after the
PEACE OF LUNEVILLE
1801
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
FRANCE
GREAT BRITAIN & IRELAND
SWEDEN
DENMARK AND NORWAY
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
ALGERIA
PEZ & MOROCCO
SARDINIA
SICILY
NAPLES
LIGURIA
HELVETIA
AUSTRIA
Bohemia
Moravia
Hungary
Slavonia
Bosnia
Servia
Walachia
Rumili
Albania
Lithuania
Volhynia
Podolia
Ukraine
Caucasia
Georgia
Sea of Azov
Crimea
Sinope
Trebizond
Erzerum
Angora
Konia
Aleppo
Cyprus
Candia
Zerigo
Zante
Cephalonia
Corfu
Naples
Rome
Corsica
Marseille
Toulouse
Bordeaux
Nantes
Rouen
PARIS
Lyon
Turin
Genoa
Bâle
Munich
Vienna
Pressburg
Lemberg
Warsaw
Cracow
Dresden
Berlin
Hamburg
Copenhagen
Stockholm
Christiania
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Scotland
Dublin
Ireland
Cork
England
LONDON
Hebrides
Shetland I.
Orkney I.
English Channel
Cartagena
Valencia
Barcelona
Minorca
Majorca
Ivisa
Algiers
Tunis
Palermo
Brindisi
Lisbon
Oporto
MADRID
Cologne
Hamburg
Stettin
Dantzig
Mosca
Moscow
Kiev
Kazan
Kiel
Ionian Islands
Constantinople
Philippopoli
Adrianople
Sofia
Nicea
Brussa
Smyrna
Lemnos
Tyrol
Carinthia
Styria
Lower Austria
Prague
Dresden
Berlin
Hamburg
Copenhagen
Stockholm
Christiania
Cracow
Lithuania
Volhynia
Podolia
Ukraine
Caucasia
Sea of Azov
Crimea
Danube
Sinope
Trebizond
Erzerum
Angora
Kiel
Ionian Islands
Cyprus
Longitude E. of Greenwich

Sec. IV
The War with France 1793 to 1815

as spring opened the Baltic, the fleets of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark would act in practical union with those of France and Spain. But dexterous as the combination was it was shattered at a blow. In April a British fleet appeared before Copenhagen, and after a desperate struggle silenced the Danish batteries, captured six Danish ships, and forced Denmark to conclude an armistice which enabled English ships to enter the Baltic. The Northern Coalition too was broken up by the death of the Czar. In June a Convention between England and Russia settled the vexed questions of the right of search and contraband of war, and this Convention was accepted by Sweden and Denmark. Meanwhile, at the very moment of the attack on Copenhagen, a stroke as effective

The Coalition broken up 1801

MEDAL GIVEN TO INDIAN TROOPS FOR VICTORIES IN EGYPT, 1801.
Tancred, "Historical Record of Medals."

had wrecked the projects of Buonaparte in the East. The surrender of Malta to the English fleet left England the mistress of the Mediterranean; and from Malta she now turned to Egypt itself. A force of 15,000 men under General Abercromby anchored in Aboukir Bay. The French troops that Buonaparte had left in Egypt rapidly concentrated, and on the 21st of March their general attacked the English army. After a stubborn battle, in which Abercromby fell mortally wounded, the French drew off with heavy loss; and at the close of June the capitulation of the 13,000 soldiers who remained closed the French rule over Egypt.

The Peace of Amiens

Both parties in this gigantic struggle however were at last anxious to suspend the war. It was to give time for such an organization of France and its resources as might enable him to

PROCLAMATION OF THE PEACE OF AMIENS AT THE ROYAL EXCHANGE, LONDON, 1802.
Contemporary print.

reopen the struggle with other chances of success that Buonaparte opened negotiations for peace at the close of 1801. His offers were at once met by the English Government. The terms of the Peace of Amiens, which was concluded in March 1802, were necessarily simple, for England had no claim to interfere with the settlement of the Continent. France promised to retire from Southern Italy, and to leave to themselves the republics it had set up along its border in Holland, Switzerland, and Piedmont. England recognized the French Government, gave up her newly conquered colonies save Ceylon and Trinidad, acknowledged the

MALTA.
After J. M. W. Turner.

Ionian Islands as a free Republic, and engaged to replace the Knights of St. John in the isle of Malta. There was a general sense of relief at the close of the long struggle; and the new French ambassador was drawn in triumph on his arrival through the streets of London. But shrewd observers saw the dangers that lay in the temper of the First Consul. Whatever had been the errors of the French revolutionists, even their worst attacks on the independence of the nations around them had been veiled by a vague notion of freeing the peoples whom they invaded from the yoke of their rulers. But the aim of Buonaparte was simply that

Designs of Napoleon

THE ACTION OFF PULO AOR, BETWEEN FRENCH MEN-OF-WAR AND SHIPS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1804.

Picture by T. Butterworth, in India Office.

of a vulgar conqueror. He was resolute to be master of the Western world, and no notions of popular freedom or sense of national right interfered with his resolve. The means at his command were immense. The political life of the Revolution had been cut short by his military despotism, but the new social vigour which it had given to France through the abolition of privileges and the creation of a new middle class on the ruins of the clergy and the nobles still lived on. While the dissensions which tore France asunder were hushed by the policy of the First Consul, by his restoration of the Church as a religious power, his recall of the exiles, and the economy and wise administration which distinguished his rule, the centralized system of government bequeathed by the Monarchy to the Revolution, and by the Revolution to Buonaparte, enabled him easily to seize this national vigour for the profit of his own despotism. The exhaustion of the brilliant hopes raised by the Revolution, the craving for public order, the military enthusiasm and the impulse of a new glory given by the wonderful victories France had won, made a Tyranny possible; and in the hands of Buonaparte this tyranny was supported by a secret police, by the suppression of the press and of all freedom of opinion, and above all by the iron will and immense ability of the First Consul himself. Once chosen Consul for life, he felt himself secure at home, and turned restlessly to the work of outer aggression. The pledges given at Amiens were set aside. The republics established on the borders of France were brought into mere dependence on his will. Piedmont and Parma were annexed to France; and a French army occupied Switzerland. The temperate protests of the English Government were answered by demands for the expulsion of the French exiles who had been living in England ever since the Revolution, and for its surrender of Malta, which was retained till some security could be devised against a fresh seizure of the island by the French fleet. It was plain that a struggle was inevitable; huge armaments were preparing in the French ports, and a new activity was seen in those of Spain. In May 1803 the British Government anticipated Buonaparte's attack by a declaration of war.

Declaration of war

The breach only quickened Buonaparte's resolve to attack the enemy at home. The difficulties in his way he set contemptuously

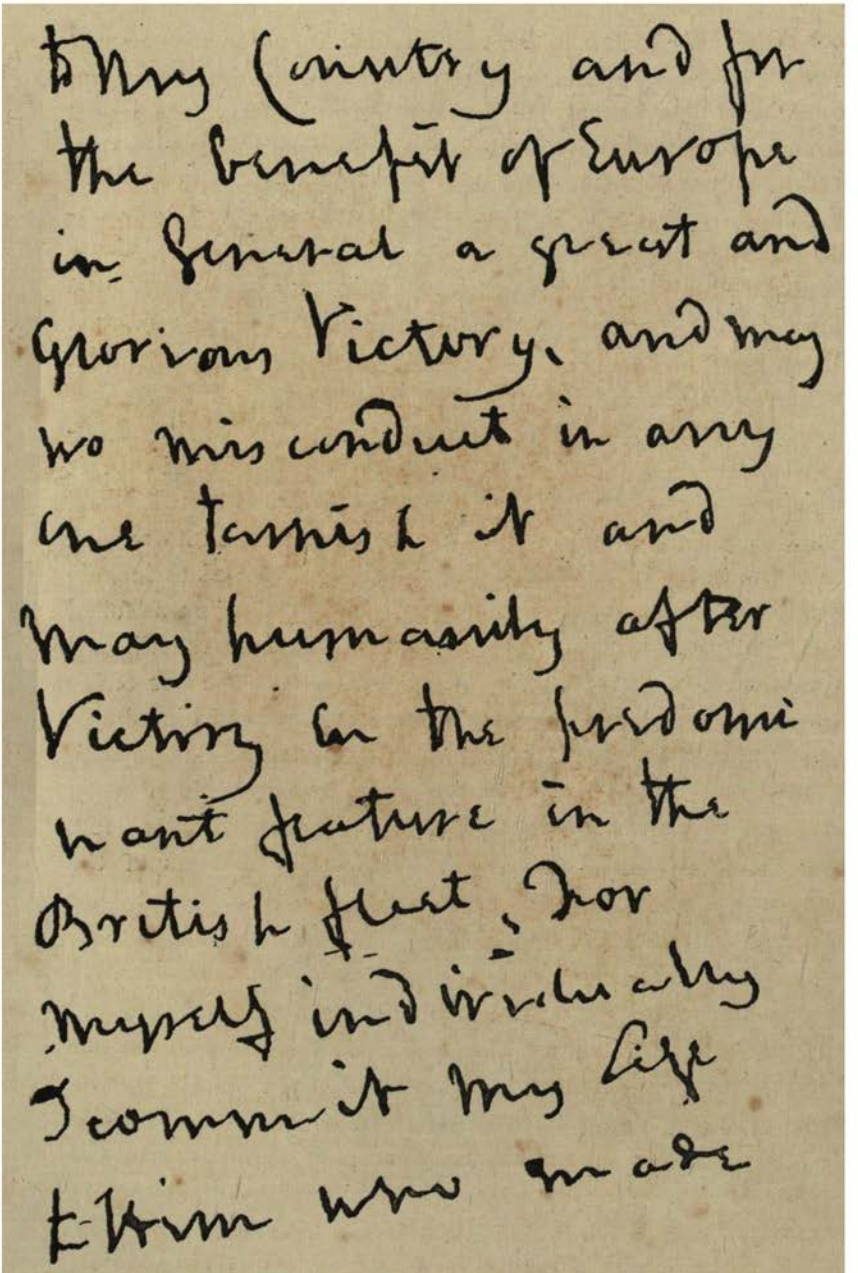
Trafalgar

THE KING OF BROBDINGNAG AND GULLIVER.
Satire by J. Gillray, 1804.

aside. "Fifteen millions of people," he said, in allusion to the disproportion between the population of England and France, "must give way to forty millions;" and an invasion of England itself was planned on a gigantic scale. A camp of one hundred thousand men was formed at Boulogne, and a host of flat-bottomed boats gathered for their conveyance across the Channel. The peril of the nation forced Addington from office and recalled Pitt to power. His health was broken, and as the days went by his appearance became so haggard and depressed that it was plain death was drawing near. But dying as he really was, the nation clung to him with all its old faith. He was still the representative of national union; and he proposed to include Fox and the leading Whigs in his new ministry, but he was foiled by the bigotry of the King; and the refusal of Lord Grenville and of Windham to take office without Fox, as well as the loss of his post at a later time by his ablest supporter, Dundas, left him almost alone. But lonely as he was, he faced difficulty and danger with the same courage as of old. The invasion seemed imminent when Buonaparte, who now assumed the title of the Emperor Napoleon, appeared in the camp at Boulogne. "Let us be masters of the Channel for six hours," he is reported to have said, "and we are masters of the world." A skilfully combined plan by which the British fleet would have been divided, while the whole French navy was concentrated in the Channel, was delayed by the death of the admiral destined to execute it. But the alliance with Spain placed the Spanish fleet at

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE OATH AT BOULOGNE.

MEDAL STRUCK BY NAPOLEON IN ANTICIPATION OF INVASION OF ENGLAND.



PART OF LETTER WRITTEN BY NELSON JUST BEFORE THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR.
Royal Naval College, Greenwich.

Napoleon's disposal, and in 1805 he planned its union with that of France, the crushing of the squadron which blocked the ports of the Channel before the English ships which were watching the Spanish armament could come to its support, and a crossing of the vast armament thus protected to the English shore. The three hundred thousand volunteers mustered in England to meet the coming attack would have offered small hindrance to the veterans of the Grand Army, had they once crossed the Channel. But Pitt had already found work for France elsewhere. The alarm of the Continental Powers had been brought to a head by Napoleon's annexation of Genoa; Pitt's subsidies had removed the last obstacle in the way of a league; and Russia, Austria, and Sweden joined in an alliance to wrest Italy and the Low Countries from the grasp of the French Emperor. Napoleon meanwhile swept the sea in vain for a glimpse of the great armament whose assembly in the Channel he had so skilfully planned. Admiral Villeneuve, uniting the Spanish ships with his own squadron from Toulon, drew Nelson in pursuit to the West Indies, and then, suddenly returning to Cadiz, hastened to form a junction with the French squadron at Brest and crush the English fleet in the Channel. But a headlong pursuit brought Nelson up with him ere the manœuvre was complete, and the two fleets met on the 21st of October, 1805, off Cape Trafalgar. "England," ran Nelson's famous signal, "expects every man to do his duty;" and though he fell himself in the hour of victory, twenty French sail had struck their flag ere the day was done. "England has saved herself by her courage," Pitt said in what were destined to be his last public words: "she will save Europe by her example!" But even before the victory of Trafalgar Napoleon had abandoned the dream of invading England to meet the coalition in his rear; and swinging round his forces on the Danube he forced an Austrian army to capitulation in Ulm three days before his naval defeat. From Ulm he marched on Vienna, and crushed the combined armies of Austria and Russia in the battle of Austerlitz. "Austerlitz," Wilberforce

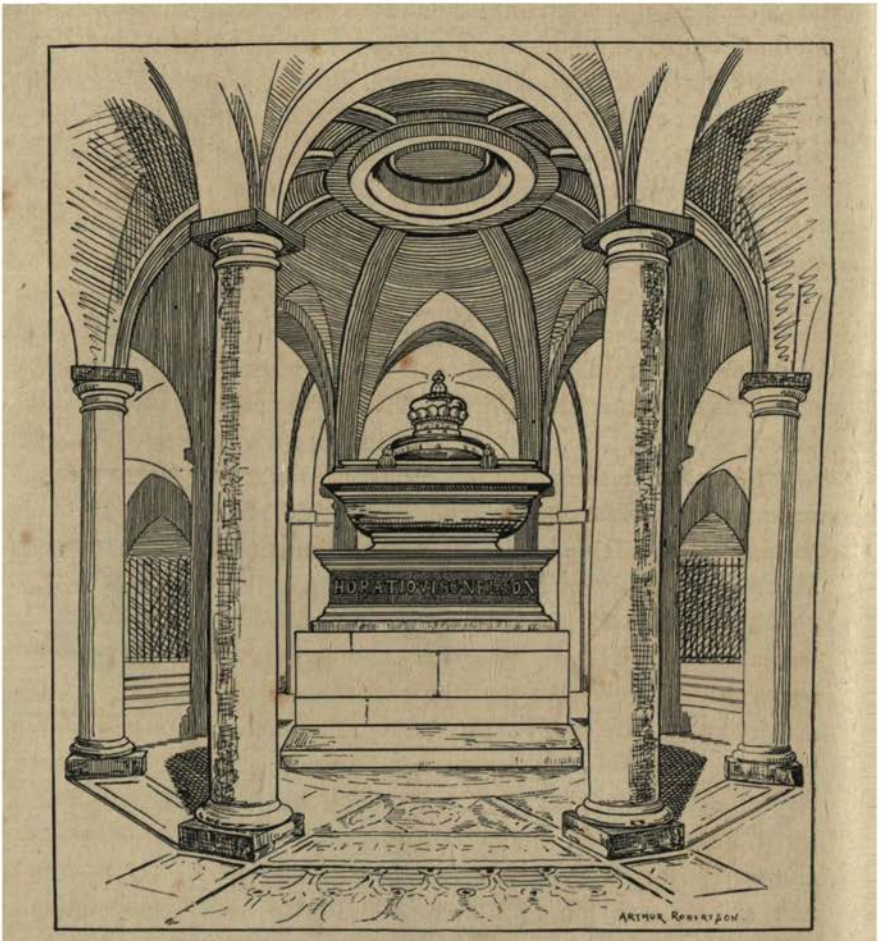
League against France

OLD BRISTOL VOLUNTEER.
Nicholls and Taylor, "Bristol Past and Present."

Nov. 1805

SEC. IV
THE WAR WITH FRANCE
1793 TO 1815

wrote in his diary, "killed Pitt." Though he was still but forty-seven, the hollow voice and wasted frame of the great Minister had long told that death was near; and the blow to his hopes proved fatal. "Roll up that map," he said, pointing to a map of Europe which hung upon the wall: "it will not be wanted these ten



NELSON'S MONUMENT, IN CRYPT OF S. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

Death of Pitt

years!" Once only he rallied from stupor; and those who bent over him caught a faint murmur of "My country! How I leave my country!" On the 23rd of January, 1806, he breathed his last; and was laid in Westminster Abbey in the grave of Chatham. "What grave," exclaimed Lord Wellesley, "contains such a father

and such a son! What sepulchre embosoms the remains of so much human excellence and glory!"

So great was felt to be the loss that nothing but the union of parties, which Pitt had in vain desired during his lifetime, could fill up the gap left by his death. In the new Ministry Fox, with the small body of popular Whigs who were bent on peace and internal reform, united with the aristocratic Whigs under Lord Grenville and with the Tories under Lord Sidmouth. All home questions in fact were subordinated to the need of saving Europe from the ambition of France, and in the resolve to save Europe Fox was as resolute as Pitt himself. His hopes of peace, indeed, were stronger; but they were foiled by the evasive answer which Napoleon gave to his overtures, and by a new war which he undertook against Prussia, the one power which seemed able to resist his arms. On the 14th of October, 1806, a decisive victory at Jena laid North Germany at Napoleon's feet. Death only a month before saved Fox from witnessing the overthrow of his hopes; and his loss weakened the Grenville Cabinet at the opening of a new and more desperate struggle with France. Napoleon's earlier attempt at the enforcement of a Continental System had broken down with the failure of the Northern League; but in his mastery of Europe he now saw a more effective means of realizing his dream; and he was able to find a pretext for his new attack in England's own action. By a violent stretch of her rights as a combatant she had declared the whole coast occupied by France and its allies, from Dantzig to Trieste, to be in a state of blockade. It was impossible to enforce such a "paper blockade," even with the immense force at her disposal; and Napoleon seized on the opportunity to retaliate by the entire exclusion of British commerce from the Continent, an exclusion which he trusted would end the war by the ruin it would bring on the English manufacturers. A decree was issued from Berlin which—without a single ship to carry it out—placed the British Islands in a state of blockade. All commerce or communication with them was prohibited; all English goods or manufactures found in the territory of France or its allies were declared liable to confiscation; and their harbours were closed, not only against vessels coming from Britain but against all who had touched at her ports. The

The Grenville Ministry

Jena

The Berlin Decree
Nov. 1806

AKBER, KING OF DELHI, AND SIR THOMAS METCALFE.
Illumination, c. 1830, *in India Museum.*

attempt to enforce such a system was foiled indeed by the rise of a widespread contraband trade, by the reluctance of Holland to aid in its own ruin, by the connivance of officials along the Prussian and Russian shores, and by the pressure of facts. It was impossible even for Napoleon himself to do without the goods he pretended to exclude; an immense system of licences soon neutralized his decree; and the French army which marched to Eylau was clad in great-coats made at Leeds, and shod with shoes made at Northampton. But if it failed to destroy British industry, it told

CALCUTTA MILITIA, 1802.
Gentleman's Magazine.

far more fatally on British commerce. Trade began to move from English vessels, which were subject to instant confiscation, and to pass into the hands of neutrals, and especially of the Americans. The merchant class called on the Government to protect it, and it was to this appeal that the Grenville Ministry replied in January, 1807, by an Order in Council which declared all the ports of the coast of France and her allies under blockade, and any neutral vessels trading between them to be good prize. Such a step was far from satisfying the British merchants. But their appeal was no longer to Lord Grenville. The forces of

Orders in Council

ignorance and bigotry which had been too strong for Pitt were too strong for the Grenville Ministry. Its greatest work, the abolition of the slave trade, in February, was done in the teeth of a vigorous opposition from the Tories and the merchants of Liverpool; and in March the first indication of its desire to open the question of religious equality by allowing Catholic officers to serve in the army was met on the part of the King by the demand of a pledge not to meddle with the question. On the refusal of this pledge the Ministry was dismissed.

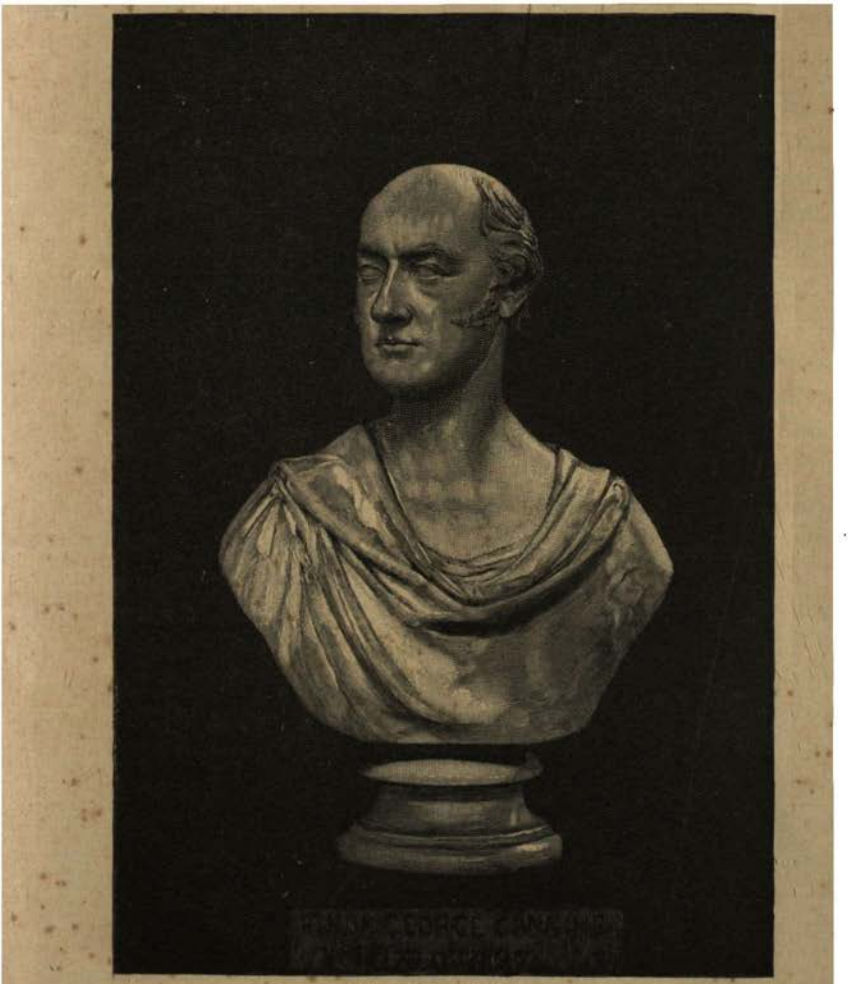
Canning

Its fall was the final close of the union of parties brought about by the peril of French invasion; and from this time to the end of the war England was wholly governed by the Tories. The nominal head of the Ministry which succeeded that of Lord Grenville was the Duke of Portland; its guiding spirit was the Foreign Secretary, George Canning, a young and devoted adherent of Pitt, whose brilliant rhetoric gave him power over the House of Commons, while the vigour and breadth of his mind gave a new energy and colour to the war. At no time had opposition to Napoleon seemed so hopeless. From Berlin the Emperor marched into the heart of Poland, and though checked in the winter by the Russian forces in the hard-fought battle of Eylau, his victory of Friedland brought the Czar Alexander in the summer of 1807 to consent to the Peace of Tilsit. From foes the two Emperors of Western and Eastern Europe became friends, and the hope of French aid in the conquest of Turkey drew Alexander to a close alliance with Napoleon. Russia not only enforced the Berlin decrees against British commerce, but forced Sweden, the one ally that England still retained on the Continent, to renounce her alliance. The Russian and Swedish fleets were thus placed at the service of France; and the two Emperors counted on securing the fleet of Denmark, and again threatening by this union the maritime supremacy which formed England's real defence. The hope was foiled by the appearance off Elsinore in July 1807 of an expedition, promptly and secretly equipped by Canning, with a demand for the surrender of the Danish fleet into the hands of England, on pledge of its return at the close of the war. On the refusal of the Danes the demand was enforced by a bombardment of Copenhagen; and the whole Danish fleet, with a vast mass of naval stores, was

Peace of Tilsit

EUROPE
after the
PEACE OF TILSIT
1807.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
GREAT BRITAIN & IRELAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
SCOTLAND
LONDON
English Channel
Bay of Biscay
FRENCH EMPIRE
DENMARK AND NORWAY
SWEDEN
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
WARSAW
Lithuania
Volhynia
Podolia
Ukraine
Caucasia
Georgia
BLACK SEA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Hungary
Transylvania
Walachia
Servia
Bosnia
Slavonia
Austria
Bohemia
Moravia
Prussia
Austerlitz
Strassburg
PARIS
Nantes
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Marseille
Genoa
Venice
Trieste
Corsica
Elba
Rome
Naples
SARDINIA
SICILY
Palermo
Malta
Candia
Cyprus
Smyrna
Salonica
Adrianople
Balkan Mts
Rum-Ili
Albania
Ionian Islands
Archipelago
Sinope
Trebizond
Crimea
Moldavia
Bessarabia
Galicia
Moscow
Stockholm
Christiania
Finland
Estland
Livland
Courland
Pillau
Dublin
Cork
Bristol Ch.
Liverpool
Edinburgh
Orkney Is.
Hebrides or Western Isles
Shetland Is.
Amsterdam
Brest
Rouen
Nantes
Toulouse
Barcelona
Cartagena
Granada
Sevilla
Cadiz
Gibraltar
Oporto
Lisbon
Madrid
Algiers
Tunis
Balearic Is.
Majorca
Minorca
Ivisa
Corsica
Sicily
Malta
Cyprus
Sardinia
Rhodes
Mediterranean Sea
Bay of Biscay
Pyrenees Mts
Alps
Carpathian Mts
Balkan Mts
Ionian Islands
Archipelago
Longitude E. of Greenwich
Stanford's Geog. Estab.

carried into British ports. It was in the same spirit of almost reckless decision that Canning turned to meet Napoleon's Continental System. In November he issued fresh Orders in Council. By these France, and every Continental state from



GEORGE CANNING.
Bust in National Portrait Gallery.

which the British flag was excluded, was put in a state of blockade, and all vessels bound for their harbours were held subject to seizure unless they had touched at a British port. The orders were at once met by another decree of Napoleon issued at

The Milan Decree

Sec. IV
The War with France 1793 to 1815

Milan in December, which declared every vessel, of whatever nation, coming from or bound to Britain or any British colony, to have forfeited its character as a neutral, and to be liable to seizure.

OFFICER, 1792.
"The Fortieth Regiment."

The Peninsular War

Meanwhile the effect of the Continental System upon Napoleon was to drive him to aggression after aggression in order to maintain the material union of Europe against Britain. He was absolutely master of Western Europe, and its whole face changed as at an enchanter's touch. Prussia was occupied by French troops. Holland was changed into a monarchy by a simple decree of the French Emperor, and its crown bestowed on his brother Louis. Another brother, Jerome, became King of Westphalia, a new realm built up out of the Electorates of Hesse Cassel and Hanover. A third brother, Joseph, was made King of Naples: while the rest of Italy, and even Rome itself, was annexed to the French Empire. It was the hope of effectually crushing the world-power of Britain which drove him to his worst aggression, the aggression upon Spain. He acted with his usual subtlety. In October 1807 France and Spain agreed to divide Portugal between them; and on the advance of their forces the reigning house of Braganza fled helplessly from Lisbon to a refuge in Brazil. But the seizure of Portugal was only a prelude to the seizure of Spain. Charles the Fourth, whom a riot in his capital drove at this moment to abdication, and his son, Ferdinand the Seventh, were drawn to Bayonne in May 1808, and forced to resign their claims to the Spanish crown; while a French army entered Madrid and proclaimed Joseph Buonaparte King of Spain. But this high-handed act of aggression was

HUSSAR OFFICER.
Print, 1807.

hardly completed when Spain rose as one man against the stranger; and desperate as the effort of its people seemed, the news of the rising was welcomed throughout England with a burst of enthusiastic joy. "Hitherto," cried Sheridan, a leader of the Whig opposition, "Buonaparte has contended with princes without dignity, numbers without ardour, or peoples without patriotism. He has yet to learn what it is to combat a people who are animated by one spirit against him." Tory and Whig alike held that "never had so happy an opportunity existed in Britain to strike a bold stroke for the rescue of the world;" and Canning at once resolved to change the system of desultory descents on colonies and sugar islands for a vigorous warfare in the Peninsula. Supplies were sent to the Spanish insurgents with reckless profusion, and two small armies placed under the command of Sir John Moore and Sir Arthur Wellesley for service in the Peninsula. In July 1808 the surrender at Baylen of a French force which had invaded Andalusia gave the first shock to the power of Napoleon, and the blow was followed by one almost as severe. Landing at the Mondego with fifteen thousand men, Sir Arthur Wellesley drove the French army of Portugal from the field of Vimiera, and forced it to surrender in the Convention of Cintra on the 30th of August. But the tide of success was soon roughly turned. Napoleon appeared in Spain with an army of two hundred thousand men; and Moore, who had advanced from Lisbon to Salamanca to support the Spanish armies, found them crushed on the Ebro, and was driven to fall hastily back on the coast. His force saved its honour in a battle before Corunna,

FRENCH EAGLE FROM SPAIN.
United Service Institution.

SPANISH COCKADE.
United Service Institution.

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which enabled it to embark in safety; but elsewhere all seemed lost. The whole of northern and central Spain was held by the French armies; and even Zaragoza, which had once

MAJOR-GENERAL WELLESLEY, AFTERWARDS DUKE OF WELLINGTON.
Engraved by O. Lacour from a painting by Robert Home, 1806.

heroically repulsed them, submitted after a second equally desperate resistance.

Wellesley

The landing of the wreck of Moore's army and the news of the Spanish defeats turned the temper of England from the wildest hope to the deepest despair; but Canning remained unmoved. On

the day of the evacuation of Corunna he signed a treaty of alliance with the Spanish Junta at Cadiz; and the English force at Lisbon, which had already prepared to leave Portugal, was reinforced with thirteen thousand fresh troops, and placed under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley. "Portugal," Wellesley wrote coolly, "may be defended against any force which the French can bring against it." At this critical moment the best of the French troops with the Emperor himself were drawn from the Peninsula to the Danube; for the Spanish rising had roused Austria as well as England to a renewal of the struggle. When Marshal Soult therefore threatened Lisbon from the north, Wellesley marched boldly against him, drove him from Oporto in a disastrous retreat, and, suddenly changing his line of operations, pushed with twenty thousand men by Abrantes on Madrid. He was joined on the march by a Spanish force of thirty thousand men; and a bloody action with a French army of equal force at Talavera, in July 1809, restored the renown of English arms. The losses on both sides were enormous, and the French fell back at the close of the struggle; but the fruits of the victory were lost by a sudden appearance of Soult on the English line of advance, and Wellesley was forced to retreat hastily on Badajoz. His failure was embittered by heavier disasters elsewhere. Austria was driven to sue for peace by Napoleon's victory at Wagram; and a force of forty thousand English soldiers which had been despatched against Antwerp returned home baffled after losing half its numbers in the marshes of Walcheren.

Torres Vedras

The failure at Walcheren brought about the fall of the Portland Ministry. Canning attributed the disaster to the incompetence of Lord Castlereagh, an Irish peer who, after taking the chief part in bringing about the union between England and Ireland, had been raised by the Duke of Portland to the post of Secretary at War; and the quarrel between the two Ministers ended in a duel, and in their resignation of their offices. The Duke of Portland retired with Canning; and a new ministry was formed out of the more Tory members of the late administration under the guidance of Spencer Perceval, an industrious mediocrity of the narrowest type; the Marquis of Wellesley, a brother of the English general in Spain, becoming Foreign Secretary. But if Perceval and his colleagues

The Perceval Ministry

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possessed few of the higher qualities of statesmanship, they had one characteristic which in the actual position of English affairs was beyond all price. They were resolute to continue the war. In the nation at large the fit of enthusiasm had been followed by a fit of despair; and the City of London even petitioned for a withdrawal of the English forces from the Peninsula. Napoleon seemed irresistible, and now that Austria was crushed and England stood alone in opposition to him, the Emperor resolved to put an end to the strife by a vigorous prosecution of the war in Spain. Andalusia, the one province which remained independent, was invaded in the opening of 1810, and with the exception of Cadiz reduced to submission; while Marshal Massena with a fine army of eighty thousand men marched upon Lisbon. Even Perceval abandoned all hope of preserving a hold on the Peninsula in face of these new efforts, and threw on Wellesley, who had been raised to the peerage as Lord Wellington after Talavera, the responsibility of resolving to remain there. But the cool judgement and firm temper which distinguished Wellington enabled him to face a responsibility from which weaker men would have shrunk. "I conceive," he answered, "that the honour and interest of our country require that we should hold our ground here as long as possible; and, please God, I will maintain it as long as I can." By the addition of Portuguese troops who had been trained under British officers, his army was now raised to fifty thousand men; and though his inferiority in force compelled him to look on while Massena reduced the frontier fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, he inflicted on him a heavy check at the heights of Busaco, and finally fell back, in October 1810, on three lines of defence which he had secretly constructed at Torres Vedras, along a chain of mountain heights crowned with redoubts and bristling with cannon. The position was impregnable; and able and stubborn as Massena was, he found himself forced after a month's fruitless effort to fall back in a masterly retreat; but so terrible were the privations of the French army in passing again through the wasted country that it was only with forty thousand men that he reached Ciudad Rodrigo, in the spring of 1811. Reinforced by fresh troops, Massena turned fiercely to the relief of Almeida, which Wellington had besieged; but two days' bloody and obstinate fighting, in May 1811, failed to

drive the English army from its position at Fuentes d'Onore, and the Marshal fell back on Salamanca and relinquished his effort to drive Wellington from Portugal.

Great as was the effect of Torres Vedras in restoring the spirit of the English people and in reviving throughout Europe the hope of resistance to the tyranny of Napoleon, its immediate result was little save the deliverance of Portugal. The French remained masters of all Spain save Cadiz and the eastern provinces, and even the east coast was reduced in 1811 by the vigour of General Suchet. While England thus failed to rescue Spain from the aggression of Napoleon, she was suddenly brought face to face with the result of her own aggression in America. The Orders in Council with 1807 which Canning had attempted to prevent the transfer of the carrying trade from English to neutral ships, by compelling all vessels on their way to ports under blockade to touch at British harbours, had at once created serious embarrassments with America. In the long strife between France and England, America had already borne much from both combatants, but above all from Britain. Not only had the English Government exercised its right of search, but it asserted a right of seizing English seamen found in American vessels; and as there were few means of discriminating between English seamen and American, the sailor of Maine or Massachusetts was often impressed to serve in the British fleet. Galled however as was America by outrages such as these, she was hindered from resenting them by her strong disinclination to war, as well as by the profit which she drew from the maintenance of her neutral position. But the Orders in Council and the Milan decree forced her into action, and she at once answered them by an embargo of trade with Europe. After a year's trial, however, America found it impossible to maintain the embargo; and at the opening of 1809 she exchanged

SILVER PENNY OF WASHINGTON, 1792.

LIVERPOOL HALFPENNY, 1793.

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the embargo for an Act of Non-Intercourse with France and England alone. But the Act was equally ineffective. The American Government was utterly without means of enforcing it on its land frontier; and it had small means of enforcing it at sea. Vessels sailed daily for British ports; and at last the Non-Intercourse Act was repealed altogether. All that America persisted in maintaining was an offer that if either Power would repeal its edicts it would prohibit American commerce with the other. Napoleon seized on

SAILOR, 1807.
Atkinson, "Costumes of Great Britain."

MIDSHIPMAN, 1799.
After T. W. Rowlandson.

May 1810 this offer, and after promising to revoke his Berlin and Milan Decrees he called on America to redeem her pledge. In February 1811, therefore, the United States announced that all intercourse with Great Britain and her dependencies was at an end. The effect of this step was seen in a reduction of English exports during this year by a third of their whole amount. It was in vain that Britain pleaded that the Emperor's promises remained unfulfilled, and that the enforcement of non-intercourse with England was thus an unjust

act, and an act of hostility. The pressure of the American policy, as well as news of the warlike temper which had at last grown up in the United States, made submission inevitable; for the industrial state of England was now so critical that to expose it to fresh shocks was to court the very ruin which Napoleon had planned.

State of England

During the earlier years of the war, indeed, the increase of wealth had been enormous. England was sole mistress of the seas. The war gave her possession of the colonies of Spain, of Holland, and of France; and if her trade was checked for a time by the Berlin Decree, the efforts of Napoleon were soon rendered fruitless by the vast smuggling system which sprang up along the southern coasts and the coast of North Germany. English exports had nearly doubled since the opening of the century. Manufactures profited by the discoveries of Watt and Arkwright; and the consumption of raw cotton in the mills of Lancashire rose during the same period from fifty to a hundred millions of pounds. The vast accumulation of capital, as well as the vast increase of the population at this time, told upon the land, and forced agriculture into a feverish and unhealthy prosperity. Wheat rose to famine prices, and the value of land rose in proportion with the price of wheat. Inclosures went on with prodigious rapidity; the income of every landowner was doubled, while the farmers were able to introduce improvements into the processes of agriculture which changed the whole face of the country. But if the increase of wealth was enormous, its distribution was partial. During the fifteen years which preceded Waterloo, the number of the population rose from ten to thirteen millions, and this rapid increase kept down the rate of wages, which would naturally have advanced in a corresponding degree with the increase in the national wealth. Even manufactures, though destined in the long run to benefit the labouring classes, seemed at first rather to depress them; for one of the earliest results of the introduction of machinery was the ruin of a number of small trades which were carried on at home, and the pauperization of families who relied on them for support. In the winter of 1811 the terrible pressure of this transition from handicraft to machinery was seen in the Luddite, or machine-breaking, riots which broke out over the northern and midland counties, and which were only suppressed by military force. While labour was thus thrown out of its older grooves, and the

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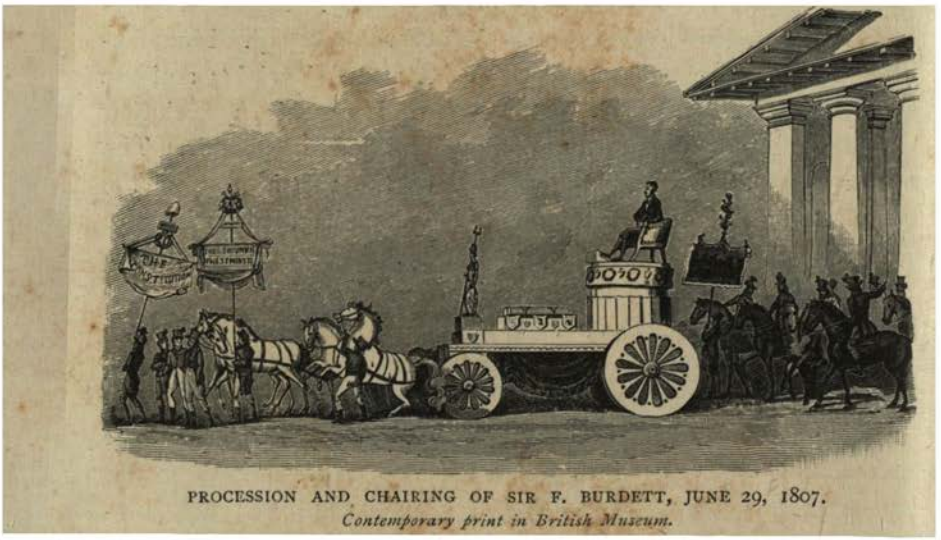
rate of wages kept down at an artificially low figure by the rapid increase of population, the rise in the price of wheat, which brought wealth to the landowner and the farmer, brought famine and death to the poor, for England was cut off by the war from the vast cornfields of the Continent or of America, which nowadays redress from their abundance the results of a bad harvest. Scarcity was followed by a terrible pauperization of the labouring classes. The amount of the poor-rate rose fifty per cent.; and with the increase of poverty followed its inevitable result, the increase of crime.

Revival of Reform

The natural relation of trade and commerce to the general wealth of the people at large was thus disturbed by the peculiar



PROCESSION AND CHAIRING OF SIR F. BURDETT, JUNE 29, 1807.
Contemporary print in British Museum.

circumstances of the time. The war enriched the landowner, the farmer, the merchant, the manufacturer; but it impoverished the poor. It is indeed from these fatal years which lie between the Peace of Luneville and Waterloo that we must date that war of classes, that social severance between employers and employed, which still forms the main difficulty of English politics. But it is from these years too that we must date the renewal of that progressive movement in politics which had been suspended since the opening of the war. The publication of the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802 by a knot of young lawyers at Edinburgh marked a revival of the policy of constitutional and administrative progress which had been reluctantly abandoned by William Pitt. Jeremy

Bentham gave a new vigour to political speculation by his advocacy of the doctrine of Utility, and his definition of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" as the aim of political action. In 1809 Sir Francis Burdett revived the question of Parliamentary Reform. Only fifteen members supported his motion; and a reference to the House of Commons, in a pamphlet which he subsequently published, as "a part of our fellow-subjects collected together by means which it is not necessary to describe" was met by his committal to the Tower, where he remained till the prorogation of the Parliament. A far greater effect was produced by the perseverance with which Canning pressed year by year the question of Catholic Emancipation. So long as Perceval lived both efforts at Reform were equally vain; but on the accession of Lord Liverpool to power the advancing strength of a more liberal sentiment in the nation was felt by the policy of "moderate concession" which was adopted by the new ministry. Catholic Emancipation became an open question in the Cabinet itself, and was adopted in 1812 by a triumphant majority in the House of Commons, though still rejected by the Lords.

War with America

With social and political troubles thus awaking about them, even Tory statesmen were not willing to face the terrible consequences of a ruin of English industry, such as might follow from the junction of America with Napoleon. They were, in fact, preparing to withdraw the Orders in Council, when their plans were arrested by the dissolution of the Perceval Ministry. Its position had from the first been a weak one. A return of the King's madness had made it necessary in the beginning of 1811 to confer the Regency by Act of Parliament on the Prince of Wales; and the Whig sympathies of the Prince threatened the Perceval Cabinet with dismissal. The insecurity of their position told on the conduct of the war; for the apparent inactivity of Wellington during 1811 was really due to the hesitation and timidity of the ministers at home. In May 1812 the assassination of Perceval by a maniac named Bellingham brought about the fall of his ministry; and fresh efforts were made by the Regent to install the Whigs in office. Mutual distrust, however, foiled his attempts; and the old ministry was restored under the headship of Lord Liverpool, a man of no great abilities, but temperate, well informed, and endowed with a remarkable skill in holding

The Liverpool Ministry

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discordant colleagues together. The most important of these colleagues was Lord Castlereagh, who became Secretary for Foreign Affairs. His first work was to meet the danger in which Canning had involved the country by his Orders in Council. At the opening of 1812 America, in despair of redress, had resolved on war; Congress voted an increase of both army and navy, and laid an embargo on all vessels in American harbours. Actual hostilities might still have been averted by the repeal of the Orders, on which the English Cabinet was resolved, but in the confusion which followed the murder of Perceval the opportunity was lost. On the 23rd of June, only twelve days after the ministry had been formed, the Orders were repealed; but when the news of the repeal reached America, it came six weeks too late. On the 18th of June an Act of Congress had declared America at war with Great Britain.

Salamanca and Moscow

The moment when America entered into the great struggle was a critical moment in the history of mankind. Six days after President Madison issued his declaration of war, Napoleon crossed the Niemen on his march to Moscow. Successful as his policy had been in stirring up war between England and America, it had been no less successful in breaking the alliance which he had made with the Emperor Alexander at Tilsit and in forcing on a contest with Russia. On the one hand, Napoleon was irritated by the refusal of Russia to enforce strictly the suspension of all trade with England, though such a suspension would have ruined the Russian landowners. On the other, the Czar saw with growing anxiety the advance of the French Empire which sprang from Napoleon's resolve to enforce his system by a seizure of the northern coasts. In 1811 Holland, the Hanseatic towns, part of Westphalia, and the Duchy of Oldenburg were successively annexed, and the Duchy of Mecklenburg threatened with seizure. A peremptory demand on the part of France for the entire cessation of intercourse with England brought the quarrel to a head; and preparations were made on both sides for a gigantic struggle. The best of the French soldiers were drawn from Spain to the frontier of Poland; and Wellington, whose army had been raised to a force of forty thousand Englishmen and twenty thousand Portuguese, profited by the withdrawal to throw off his system of defence and to assume an attitude of attack. Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz

Wellington in Spain

were taken by storm during the spring of 1812; and three days before Napoleon crossed the Niemen in his march on Moscow Wellington crossed the Agueda in a march on Salamanca. After a series of masterly movements on both sides, Marmont with the French army of the north attacked the English on the hills in the neighbourhood of that town. While he was marching round the right of the English position, his left wing remained isolated; and with a sudden exclamation of "Marmont is lost!" Wellington flung on it the bulk of his force, crushed it, and drove the whole army from the field. The loss on either side was nearly equal, but failure had demoralized the French army; and its retreat forced Joseph to leave Madrid, and Soult to evacuate Andalusia and to concentrate the southern army on the eastern coast. While

July 22

MEDAL COMMEMORATING WELLINGTON'S ENTRY INTO MADRID.

Napoleon was still pushing slowly over the vast plains of Poland, Wellington made his entry into Madrid in August, and began the siege of Burgos. The town however held out gallantly for a month, till the advance of the two French armies, now concentrated in the north and south of Spain, forced Wellington in October to a hasty retreat on the Portuguese frontier. If he had shaken the rule of the French in Spain in this campaign, his ultimate failure showed how firm a military hold they still possessed there. But the disappointment was forgotten in the news which followed it. At the moment when the English troops fell back from Burgos began the retreat of the Grand Army from Moscow. Victorious in a battle at Borodino, Napoleon had entered the older capital of Russia in triumph, and waited impatiently to receive

The Retreat from Moscow

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proposals of peace from the Czar, when a fire kindled by its own inhabitants reduced the city to ashes. The French army was forced to fall back amidst the horrors of a Russian winter. Of the four hundred thousand combatants who formed the Grand Army at its first outset, only a few thousand recrossed the Niemen in December.

Fall of Napoleon

In spite of the gigantic efforts which Napoleon made to repair the loss of the Grand Army, the spell which he had cast over Europe was broken by the retreat from Moscow. Prussia rose against him as the Russians crossed the Niemen in the spring of 1813; and the forces which held it were at once thrown back on the Elbe. In this emergency the military genius of the French Emperor rose to its height. With a fresh army of two hundred thousand men whom he had gathered up at Mainz he marched on the allied armies of Russia and Prussia in May, cleared Saxony by a victory over them at Lutzen, and threw them back on the Oder by a fresh victory at Bautzen. Disheartened by defeat, and by the neutral attitude which Austria still preserved, the two powers consented in June to an armistice, and negotiated for peace. But Austria, though unwilling to utterly ruin France to the profit of her great rival in the East, was as resolute as either of the allies to wrest from Napoleon his supremacy over Europe; and at the moment when it became clear that Napoleon was only bent on playing with her proposals, she was stirred to action by news that his army was at last driven from Spain. Wellington had left Portugal in May with an army which had now risen to ninety thousand men; and, overtaking the French forces in retreat at Vitoria, he inflicted on them a defeat which drove them in utter rout across the Pyrenees. Madrid was at once evacuated; and Clauzel fell back from Zaragoza into France. The victory not only freed Spain from its invaders; it restored the spirit of the Allies. The close of the armistice was followed by a union of Austria with the forces of Prussia and the Czar; and in October a final overthrow of Napoleon at Leipzig forced the French army to fall back in rout across the Rhine. The war now hurried to its close. Though held at bay for a while by the sieges of San Sebastian and Pampeluna, as well as by an obstinate defence of the Pyrenees, Wellington succeeded in the very month of the triumph at Leipzig in winning a victory on the Bidassoa, which enabled him to enter

June 21, 1813

France. He was soon followed by the Allies. On the last day of 1813 their forces crossed the Rhine; and a third of France passed, without opposition, into their hands. For two months more Napoleon maintained a wonderful struggle with a handful of raw conscripts against their overwhelming numbers; while in the south, Soult, forced from his entrenched camp near Bayonne and defeated at Orthes, fell back before Wellington on Toulouse. Here their two armies met in April in a stubborn and indecisive engagement. But though neither leader knew it, the war was even then at an end. The struggle of Napoleon himself had ended at the close of March with the surrender of Paris; and the submission of the capital was at once followed by the abdication of the Emperor and the return of the Bourbons.

The American War

England's triumph over its enemy was dashed by the more doubtful fortunes of the struggle across the Atlantic. The declaration of war by America seemed an act of sheer madness; for its navy consisted of a few frigates and sloops; its army was a mass of half-drilled and half-armed recruits; while the States themselves were divided on the question of the war, and Connecticut with Massachusetts refused to send either money or men. Three attempts to penetrate into Canada during the summer and autumn were repulsed with heavy loss. But these failures were more than redeemed by unexpected successes at sea. In two successive engagements between English and American frigates, the former were forced to strike their flag. The effect of these victories was out of all proportion to their real importance; for they were the first heavy blows which had been dealt at England's supremacy over the seas. In 1813 America followed up its naval triumphs by more vigorous efforts on land. Its forces cleared Lake Ontario, captured Toronto, destroyed the British flotilla on Lake Erie, and made themselves masters of Upper Canada. An attack on Lower Canada, however, was successfully beaten back; and a fresh advance of the British and Canadian forces in the heart of the winter again recovered the Upper Province. The reverse gave fresh strength to the party in the United States which had throughout been opposed to the war, and whose opposition to it had been embittered by the terrible distress brought about by the blockade and the ruin of American commerce. Cries of secession

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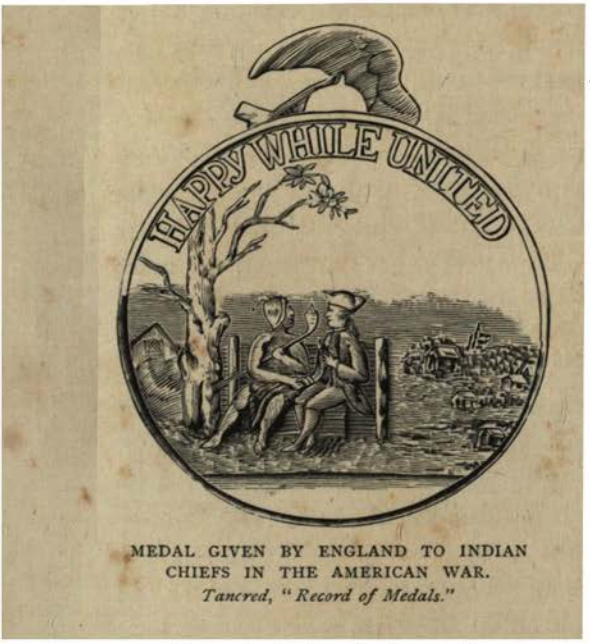
began to be heard, and Massachusetts took the bold step of appointing delegates to confer with delegates from the other New England States "on the subject of their grievances and common concerns." In 1814, however, the war was renewed with more vigour than ever; and Upper Canada was again invaded. But the American army, after inflicting a severe defeat on the British forces in the battle of Chippewa in July, was itself defeated a few weeks after in an equally stubborn engagement, and thrown back on its own frontier; while the fall of Napoleon enabled the English Government to devote its whole strength to the struggle with an enemy which it had ceased to despise. General Ross, with a force of four thousand men, appeared in the Potomac, captured Washington, and before evacuating the city burnt its public buildings to the ground. Few more shameful acts are recorded in our history; and it was the more shameful in that it was done under strict orders from the Government at home. The raid upon Washington, however, was intended simply to strike terror into the American people; and the real stress of the war was thrown on two expeditions whose business was to penetrate into the States from the north and from the south. Both proved utter failures. A force of nine thousand Peninsular veterans which marched in September to the attack of Plattsburg on Lake Champlain was forced to fall back by the defeat of the English flotilla which accompanied it. A second force under General Packenham appeared in December at the mouth of the Mississippi and attacked New Orleans, but was repulsed by General Jackson with the loss of half its numbers. Peace, however, had already been concluded.



MEDAL GIVEN BY ENGLAND TO INDIAN CHIEFS IN THE AMERICAN WAR.
Tancred, "Record of Medals."

The close of the French war, if it left untouched the grounds of the struggle, made the United States sensible of the danger of pushing it further; Britain herself was anxious for peace; and the warring claims, both of England and America, were set aside in silence in the treaty of 1814.

Return of Napoleon

The close of the war with America freed England's hands at a moment when the reappearance of Napoleon at Paris called her to a new and final struggle with France. By treaty with the Allied Powers Napoleon had been suffered to retain a fragment of his former empire—the island of Elba off the coast of Tuscany; and from Elba he had looked on at the quarrels which sprang up between his conquerors as soon as they gathered at Vienna to complete the settlement of Europe. The most formidable of these quarrels arose from the claim of Prussia to annex Saxony, and that of Russia to annex Poland; but their union for this purpose was met by a counter-league of England and Austria with their old enemy France, whose ambassador, Talleyrand, laboured vigorously to bring the contest to an issue by force of arms. At the moment, however, when a war between the two leagues seemed close at hand, Napoleon quitted Elba, landed on the coast near Cannes, and, followed only by a thousand of his guards, marched over the mountains of Dauphiné upon Grenoble and Lyons. He counted, and counted justly, on the indifference of the country to its new Bourbon rulers, on the longing of the army for a fresh struggle which should restore its glory, and above all on the spell of his name over soldiers whom he had so often led to victory. In twenty days from his landing he reached the Tuileries unopposed, while Lewis the Eighteenth fled helplessly to Ghent. But whatever hopes he had drawn from the divisions of the Allied Powers were at once dispelled by their resolute action on the news of his descent upon France. Their strife was hushed and their old union restored by the consciousness of a common danger. An engagement to supply a million of men for the purposes of the war, and a recall of their armies to the Rhine, answered Napoleon's efforts to open negotiations with the Powers. England furnished subsidies to the amount of eleven millions, and hastened to place an army on the frontier of the Netherlands. The best troops of the force which had been employed in the Peninsula, however,

March 1, 1815

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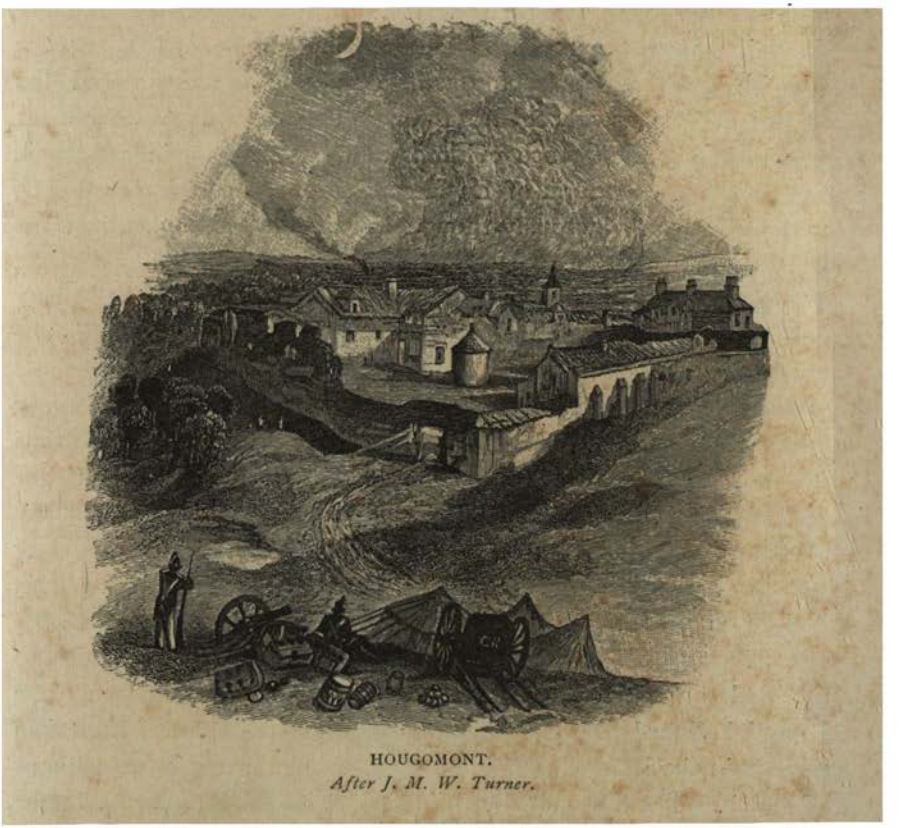
were still across the Atlantic; and of the eighty thousand men who gathered round Wellington only about a half were Englishmen, the rest principally raw levies from Belgium and Hanover. The Duke's plan was to unite with the one hundred and fifty thousand Prussians under Marshal Blucher who were advancing on the Lower Rhine, and to enter France by Mons and Namur, while the forces of Austria and Russia closed in upon Paris by way of Belfort and Elsass.

Waterloo

But Napoleon had thrown aside all thought of a merely defensive war. By amazing efforts he had raised an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men in the few months since his
1815 arrival in Paris; and in the opening of June one hundred and twenty thousand Frenchmen were concentrated on the Sambre at Charleroi, while Wellington's troops still lay in cantonments on the line of the Scheldt from Ath to Nivelle, and Blucher's on that of the Meuse from Nivelle to Liége. Both the allied armies hastened to unite at Quatre Bras; but their junction was already impossible. Blucher with eighty thousand men was himself attacked by Napoleon at Ligny, and after a desperate contest
June 16 driven back with terrible loss upon Wavre. On the same day Ney with twenty thousand men, and an equal force under D'Erlon in reserve, appeared before Quatre Bras, where as yet only ten thousand English and the same force of Belgian troops had been able to assemble. The Belgians broke before the charges of the French horse; but the dogged resistance of the English infantry gave time for Wellington to bring up corps after corps, till at the close of the day Ney saw himself heavily outnumbered, and withdrew baffled from the field. About five thousand men had fallen on either side in this fierce engagement: but heavy as was Wellington's loss, the firmness of the English army had already done much to foil Napoleon's effort at breaking through the line of the Allies. Blucher's retreat, however, left the English flank uncovered; and on the following day, while the Prussians were falling back on Wavre, Wellington with nearly seventy thousand men—for his army was now well in hand—withdrew in good order upon Waterloo, followed by the mass of the French forces under the Emperor himself. Napoleon had detached Marshal Grouchy with thirty thousand men to hang upon the rear of the beaten

Prussians, while with a force of eighty thousand he resolved to bring Wellington to battle. On the morning of the 18th of June the two armies faced one another on the field of Waterloo, in front of the Forest of Soignies, on the high road to Brussels. Napoleon's one fear had been that of a continued retreat. "I have them!" he cried, as he saw the English line drawn up on a low rise of ground which stretched across the high road from the



HOUGOMONT.
After J. M. W. Turner.

château of Hougomont on its right to the farm and straggling village of La Haye Sainte on its left. He had some grounds for his confidence of success. On either side the forces numbered between seventy and eighty thousand men; but the French were superior in guns and cavalry, and a large part of Wellington's force consisted of Belgian levies, who broke and fled at the outset of the fight. A fierce attack upon Hougomont opened the battle at eleven; but it was not till midday that the corps of D'Erlon

advanced upon the centre near La Haye Sainte, which from that time bore the main brunt of the struggle. Never has greater courage, whether of attack or endurance, been shown on any field than was shown by both combatants at Waterloo. The columns of D'Erlon, repulsed by the English foot, were hurled back in disorder by a charge of the Scots Greys; but the victorious horsemen were crushed in their turn by the French cuirassiers, and the mass of the French cavalry, twelve thousand strong, flung itself in charge after charge on the English front, carrying the English guns and sweeping with desperate bravery round the unbroken squares whose fire thinned their ranks. With almost equal bravery the French columns of the centre again advanced, wrested at last the farm of La Haye Sainte from their opponents, and pushed on vigorously though in vain under Ney against the troops in its rear. But meanwhile every hour was telling against Napoleon. To win the battle he must crush the English army before Blucher joined it; and the English army was still uncrushed. Terrible as was his loss, and many of his regiments were reduced to a mere handful of men, Wellington stubbornly held his ground while the Prussians, advancing from Wavre through deep and miry forest roads, were slowly gathering to his support, disregarding the attack on their rear by which Grouchy strove to hold them back from the field. At half-past four their advanced guard deployed at last from the woods; but the main body was far behind, and Napoleon was still able to hold his ground against them till their increasing masses forced him to stake all on a desperate effort against the English front. The Imperial Guard—his only reserve, and which had as yet taken no part in the battle—was drawn up at seven in two huge columns of attack. The first, with Ney himself at its head, swept all before it as it mounted the rise beside La Haye Sainte, on which the thin English line still held its ground, and all but touched the English front when its mass, torn by the terrible fire of musketry with which it was received, gave way before a charge. The second, three thousand strong, advanced with the same courage over the slope near Hougomont, only to be repulsed and shattered in its turn. At the moment when these masses fell slowly and doggedly back down the fatal rise, the Prussians pushed forward on

Napoleon's right, their guns swept the road to Charleroi, and Wellington seized the moment for a general advance. From that hour all was lost. Only the Guard stood firm in the wreck of the French army; and though darkness and exhaustion checked the English in their pursuit of the broken troops as they hurried from the field, the Prussian horse continued the chase through the night. Only forty thousand Frenchmen with some thirty guns recrossed the Sambre, while Napoleon himself fled hurriedly to Paris. His second abdication was followed by the triumphant entry of the English and Prussian armies into the French capital; and the long war ended with his exile to St. Helena, and the return of Lewis the Eighteenth to the throne of the Bourbons.

THE "BELLEROPHON" (SHIP WHICH CARRIED NAPOLEON TO ST. HELENA).
After J. M. W. Turner.

CHELSEA PENSIONERS READING THE GAZETTE OF WATERLOO.
Picture by Wilkie, 1822.

The Felt Makers Company were
first Incorporated in London 1604
THE ASSOCIATED FELT MAKERS OF THE UNITED
KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
and again by Charter 1667
Hats were first Invented 1438 and first made in London 1510.
Blanks first wetted 1798.
WE ASSIST EACH OTHER IN TIME OF NEED.

THE HAT-FINISHERS IN COMBINATION, 1820.
Print in Place MSS., British Museum.

EPILOGUE.

Epilogue 1815 to 1873

WITH the victory of Waterloo we reach a time within the memory of some now living, and the opening of a period of our history, the greatest indeed of all in real importance and interest, but perhaps too near to us as yet to admit of a cool and purely historical treatment. In a work such as the present at any rate it will be advisable to limit ourselves from this point to a brief summary of the more noteworthy events which have occurred in our political history since 1815.

The Peace

The peace which closed the great war with Napoleon left Britain feverish and exhausted. Of her conquests at sea she retained only Malta (whose former possessors, the Knights of St. John, had ceased to exist), the Dutch colonies of Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope, the French Colony of Mauritius, and a few West India islands. On the other hand, the pressure of the heavy taxation and of the debt, which now reached eight hundred millions, was embittered by the general distress of the country.

THE BOMBARDMENT OF ALGIERS BY VISCOUNT EXMOUTH, 1816.

Picture by George Chambers, in Royal Naval College, Greenwich.

EPILOGUE 1815 TO 1873

The rapid development of English industry for a time ran ahead of the world's demands; the markets at home and abroad were glutted with unsaleable goods, and mills and manufactories were brought to a standstill. The scarcity caused by a series of bad harvests was intensified by the selfish legislation of the landowners in Parliament. Conscious that the prosperity of English agriculture was merely factitious, and rested on the high price of corn produced by the war, they prohibited by an Act passed in 1815 the introduction of foreign corn till wheat had reached famine prices. Society, too, was disturbed by the great changes of employment consequent on a sudden return to peace after twenty years of war, and by the disbanding of the immense forces employed at sea and on land. The movement against machinery which had been put down in 1812 revived in formidable riots, and the distress of the rural poor brought about a rapid increase of crime. The steady opposition too of the Administration, in which Lord Castlereagh's influence was now supreme, to any project of political progress created a dangerous irritation which brought to the front men whose demand of a "radical reform" in English institutions won them the name of Radicals, and drove more violent agitators into treasonable disaffection and silly plots. In 1819 the breaking up by military force of a meeting at Manchester, assembled for the purpose of advocating a reform in Parliament, increased the unpopularity of the Government; and a plot of some desperate men with Arthur Thistlewood at their head for the assassination of the whole Ministry, which is known as the Cato Street Conspiracy, threw light on the violent temper which was springing up among its more extreme opponents. The death of George the Third in 1820, and the accession of his son the Prince Regent as George the Fourth, only added to the general disturbance of men's minds. The new King had long since forsaken his wife and privately charged her with infidelity; his first act on mounting the throne was to renew his accusations against her, and to lay before Parliament a bill for the dissolution of her marriage with him. The public agitation which followed on this step at last forced the Ministry to abandon the bill, but the shame of the royal family and the unpopularity of the King increased the general discontent of the country.

1820

EPILOGUE
1815 TO 1873

The real danger to public order, however, lay only in the blind opposition to all political change which confused wise and moderate projects of reform with projects of revolution; and in

Canning

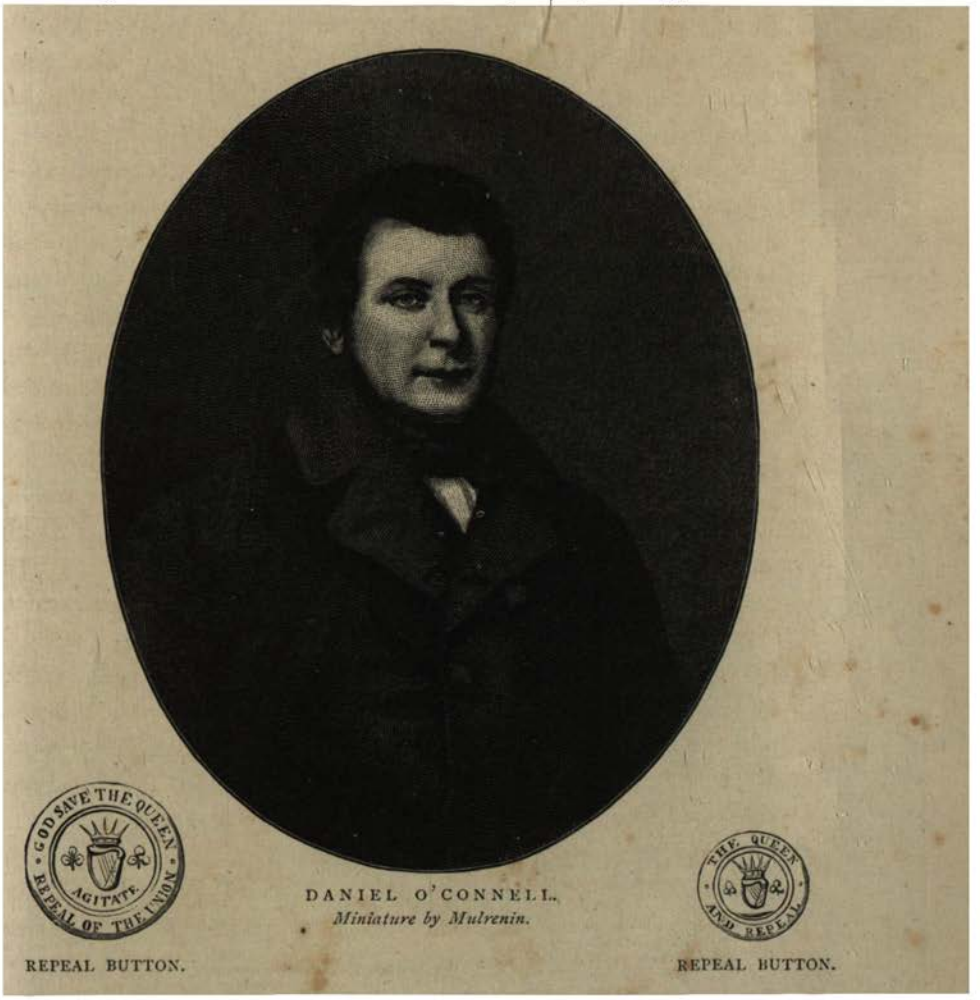
1822 the suicide of Lord Castlereagh, who had now become Marquis of Londonderry, and to whom this opposition was mainly due, put an end to the policy of mere resistance. Canning became Foreign Secretary in Castlereagh's place, and with Canning returned the earlier and progressive policy of William Pitt. Abroad, his first act was to break with the "Holy Alliance," as it called itself, which the continental courts had formed after the overthrow of Napoleon for the repression of revolutionary or liberal movements in their kingdoms, and whose despotic policy

1820

had driven Naples, Spain, and Portugal into revolt. Canning asserted the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of foreign states, a principle he enforced by sending troops in 1826 to defend Portugal from Spanish intervention, while he recognized the revolted colonies of Spain in South America and Mexico as independent states. At home his influence was seen in the new strength gained by the question of Catholic Emancipation, and in the passing of a bill for giving relief to Roman Catholics through the House of Commons in 1825. With the entry of his friend Mr. Huskisson into office in 1823 began a commercial policy which was founded on a conviction of the benefits derived from freedom of trade, and which brought about at a later time the repeal of the Corn Laws. The new drift of public policy produced a division among the Ministers which showed itself openly at Lord Liverpool's death in 1827. Canning became First Lord of the Treasury, but the Duke of Wellington, with the Chancellor, Lord Eldon, and the Home Secretary, Mr. Peel, refused to serve under him; and four months after the formation of Canning's Ministry it was broken up by his death. A temporary Ministry formed under Lord Goderich on Canning's principles was at once weakened by the position of foreign affairs. A revolt of the Greeks against Turkey had now lasted some years, in spite of Canning's efforts to bring about peace, and the despatch of an Egyptian expedition with orders to devastate the Morea and carry off its inhabitants as slaves forced England, France, and Russia to interfere. In 1827 their united fleet under Admiral Codrington attacked and destroyed that of

Egypt in the bay of Navarino; but the blow at Turkey was disapproved by English opinion, and the Ministry, already wanting in Parliamentary strength, was driven to resign. EPILOGUE 1815 TO 1873 Reform

The formation of a purely Tory Ministry by the Duke of Wellington, with Mr. Peel for its principal support in the



DANIEL O'CONNELL.
Miniature by Mulrenin.

REPEAL BUTTON. REPEAL BUTTON.

Commons, was generally looked on as a promise of utter resistance to all further progress. But the state of Ireland, where a "Catholic Association" formed by Daniel O'Connell maintained a growing agitation, had now reached a point when the English Ministry had to choose between concessions and civil war. The Duke gave way,

TOWN HALL, BIRMINGHAM.
Built 1834.

and brought in a bill which, like that designed by Pitt, admitted Roman Catholics to Parliament, and to all but a few of the highest posts, civil or military, in the service of the Crown. The passing of this bill by the aid of the Whigs threw the Tory party into confusion; while the cry for Parliamentary Reform was suddenly revived with a strength it had never known before by a Revolution in France, which drove Charles the Tenth from the throne and called his cousin, Louis Philippe, the Duke of Orleans, to reign as a Constitutional King. William the Fourth, who succeeded to the crown on the death of his brother, George the Fourth, at this moment was favourable to the demand of Reform, but Wellington refused all concession. The refusal drove him from office; and for the first time after twenty years the Whigs saw themselves again in power under the leadership of Earl Grey. A bill for Parliamentary Reform, which took away the right of representation from fifty-six decayed or rotten boroughs, gave the 143 members it gained to counties or large towns which as yet sent no members to Parliament, established a £10 householder qualification for voters in boroughs, and extended the county franchise to leaseholders and copyholders, was laid before Parliament in 1831. On its defeat the Ministry appealed to the country. The new House of Commons at once passed the bill, and so terrible was the agitation produced by its rejection by the Lords, that on its subsequent reintroduction the Peers who opposed it withdrew and suffered it to become law. The Reformed Parliament which met in 1833 did much by the violence and inexperience of many of its new members, and especially by the conduct of O'Connell, to produce a feeling of reaction in the country. On the resignation of Lord Grey in 1834 the Ministry was reconstituted under the leadership of Viscount Melbourne; and though this administration was soon dismissed by the King, whose sympathies had now veered round to the Tories, and succeeded for a short time by a Ministry under Sir Robert Peel, a general election again returned a Whig Parliament, and replaced Lord Melbourne in office. Weakened as it was by the growing change of political feeling throughout the country, no Ministry has ever wrought greater and more beneficial changes than the Whig Ministry under Lord Grey and Lord Melbourne during its ten years of rule. In 1833 the system of

EPILOGUE 1815 TO 1873

1829

1830

June 1, 1832

Nov. 1834

April 1835

EPILOGUE 1815 TO 1873

slavery which still existed in the British colonies, though the Slave Trade was suppressed, was abolished at a cost of twenty millions; the commercial monopoly of the East India Company was abolished, and the trade to the East thrown open to all merchants. In 1834 the growing evil of pauperism was checked by the enactment of a New Poor Law. In 1835 the Municipal Corporations Act restored to the inhabitants of towns those rights of self-government of which they had been deprived since the fourteenth century. 1836 saw the passing of the General Registration Act, while the constant quarrels over tithe were remedied by the Act for Tithe Commutation, and one of the grievances of Dissenters redressed by a measure which allowed civil marriage. A system of national education, begun in 1834 by a small annual grant towards the erection of schools, was developed in 1839 by the creation of a Committee of the Privy Council for educational purposes and by the steady increase of educational grants.

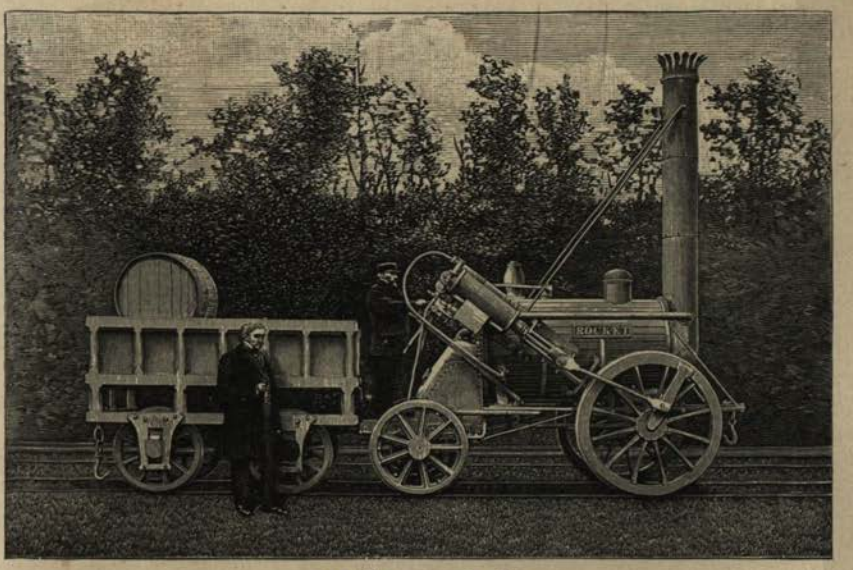
1831–1841

MANCHESTER OPERATIVE.
Illustrated London News, 1842.

STAFFORDSHIRE COLLIERS.
Penny Magazine, 1836.

Great however as these measures were, the difficulties of the Whig Ministry grew steadily year by year. Ireland, where O'Connell maintained an inces-

sant agitation for the Repeal of the Union, could only be held down by Coercion Acts. In spite of the impulse given to trade



THE "ROCKET," 1829.

by the system of steam communication which began with the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in 1830, the

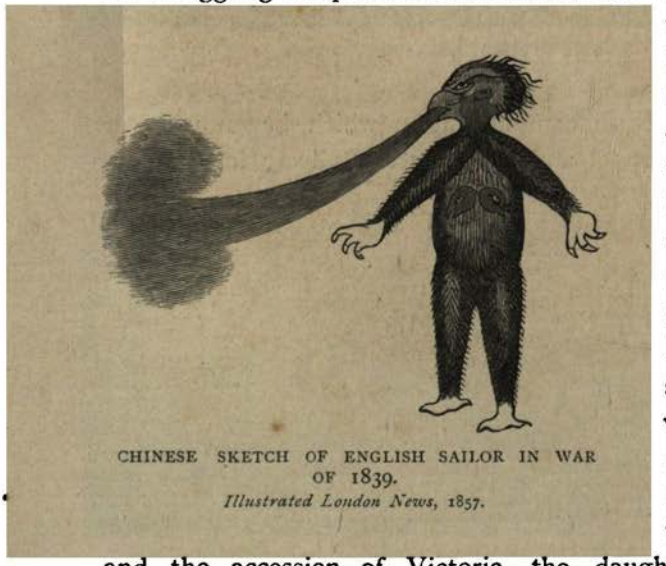
"GREATER BRITAIN," 1893.

country still suffered from distress: and the discontent of the poorer classes gave rise in 1839 to riotous demands for "the People's Charter," including universal suffrage, vote by ballot,

EPILOGUE 1815 TO 1873

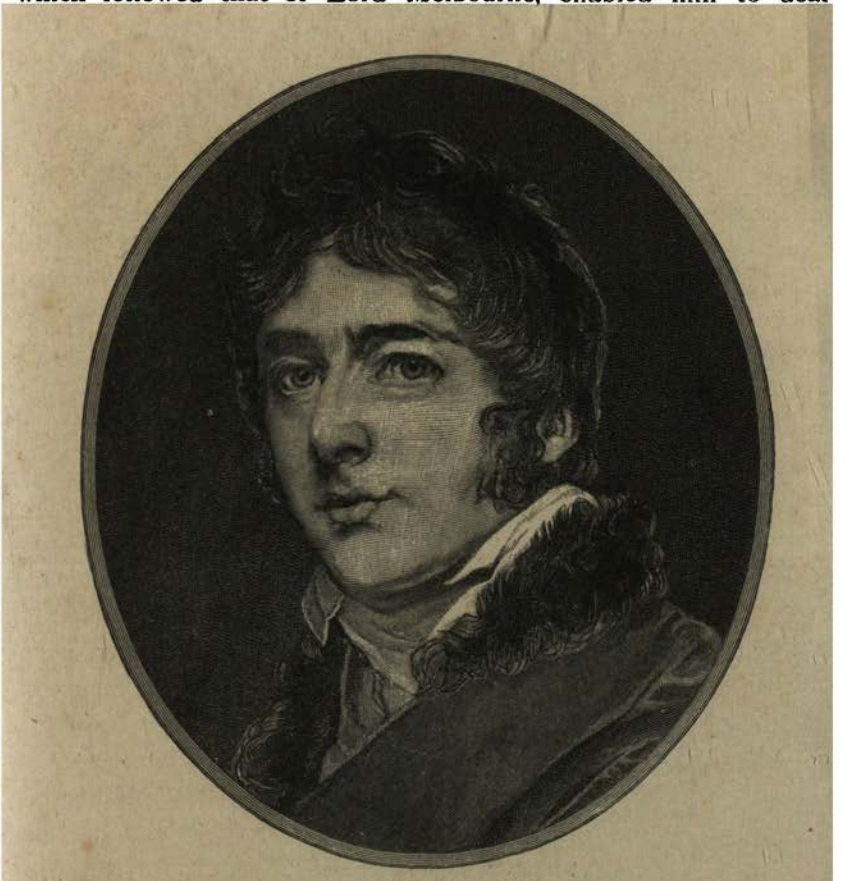
annual Parliaments, equal electoral districts, the abolition of all property qualification for members, and payment for their services. In Canada a quarrel between the two districts of Upper and Lower Canada was suffered through mismanagement to grow into a formidable revolt. The vigorous but meddlesome way in which Lord Palmerston, a disciple of Canning, carried out that statesman's foreign policy, supporting Donna Maria as sovereign in Portugal and Isabella as Queen in Spain against claimants of more absolutist tendencies by a Quadruple Alliance with France and the two countries of the Peninsula, and forcing Mehemet Ali, the Pacha of Egypt, to withdraw from an attack on Turkey by the bombardment of Acre in 1840, created general uneasiness; while the public conscience was wounded by a war with China in 1839 on its refusal to allow the smuggling of opium into its dominions. A more terrible blow was given to the Ministry by events in India; where the occupation of Cabul in 1839 ended two years later in a general revolt of the Affghans and in the loss of a British army in the Khyber Pass. The strength of the Government was restored for a time by the death of William the Fourth in 1837 and the accession of Victoria, the daughter of his brother Edward, Duke of Kent. With the accession of Queen Victoria ended the union of England and Hanover under the same sovereigns, the latter state passing to the next male heir, Ernest, Duke of Cumberland. But the Whig hold on the House of

TURKISH MEDAL FOR BOMBARDMENT OF ACRE, 1840.



CHINESE SKETCH OF ENGLISH SAILOR IN WAR OF 1839.
Illustrated London News, 1857.

Commons passed steadily away, and a general election in 1841 gave their opponents, who now took the name of Conservatives, a majority of nearly a hundred members. The general confidence in Sir Robert Peel, who was placed at the head of the Ministry which followed that of Lord Melbourne, enabled him to deal



VISCOUNT MELBOURNE.
Picture by Sir T. Lawrence.

vigorously with two of the difficulties which had most hampered his predecessors. The disorder of the public finances was repaired by the repeal of a host of oppressive and useless duties and by the imposition of an Income Tax. In Ireland O'Connell was charged with sedition and convicted, and though subsequently released from prison on appeal to the House of Lords, his influence

EPILOGUE
1815 TO 1873

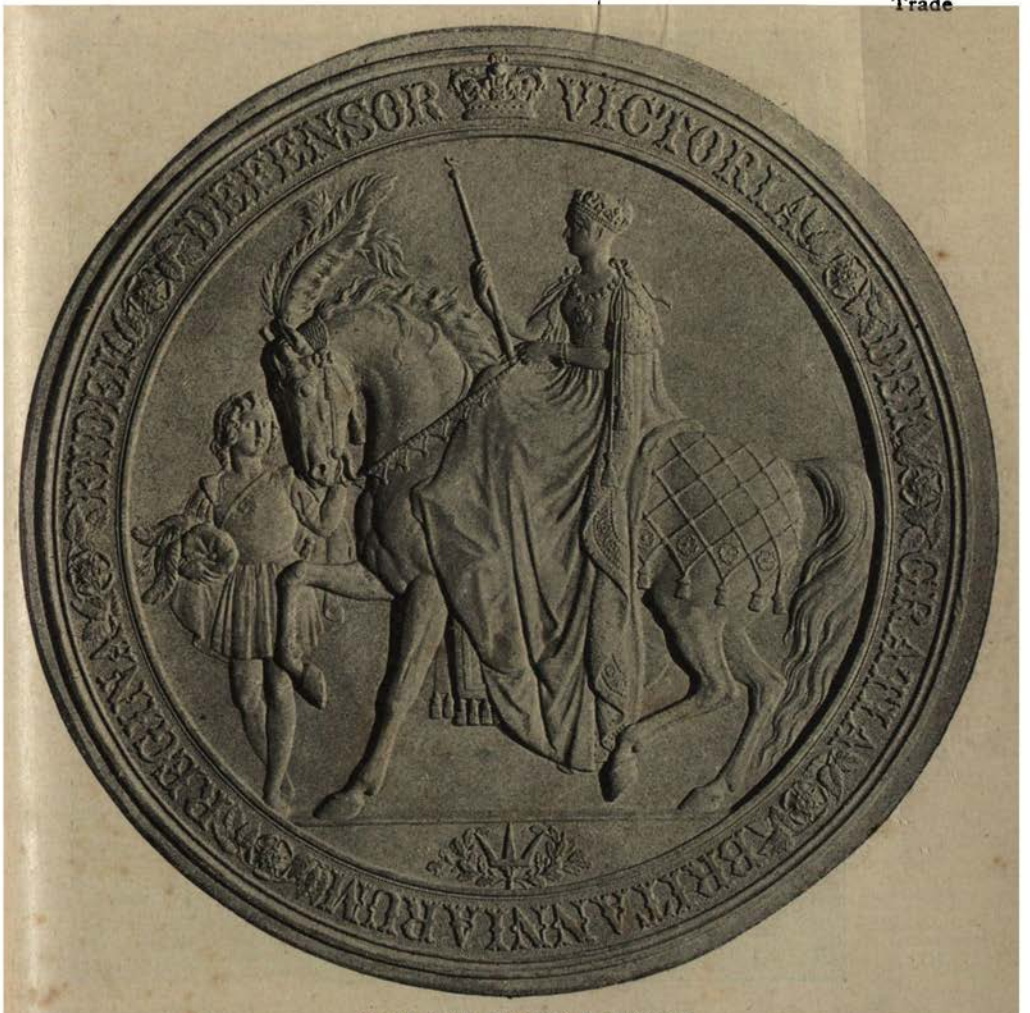
received a shock from which it never recovered. Peace was made with China by a treaty which threw open some of its ports to traders of all nations; in India the disaster of Cabul was avenged by an expedition under General Pollock which penetrated

GREAT SEAL OF QUEEN VICTORIA.
(Obverse.)

victoriously to the capital of that country in 1842, and the province
1845-1846 of Scinde was annexed to the British dominions. The shock, however, to the English power brought about fresh struggles for supremacy with the natives, and especially with the Sikhs, who

were crushed for the time in three great battles at Moodkee, Ferozeshah, and Sobraon. EPILOGUE 1815 TO 1873

Successful as it proved itself abroad, the Conservative Government encounted unexpected difficulties at home. From the Free-Trade



GREAT SEAL OF QUEEN VICTORIA.
(Reverse.)

enactment of the Corn Laws in 1815 a dispute had constantly gone on between those who advocated these and similar measures as a protection to native industry and those who, viewing them as simply laying a tax on the consumer for the benefit of the pro-

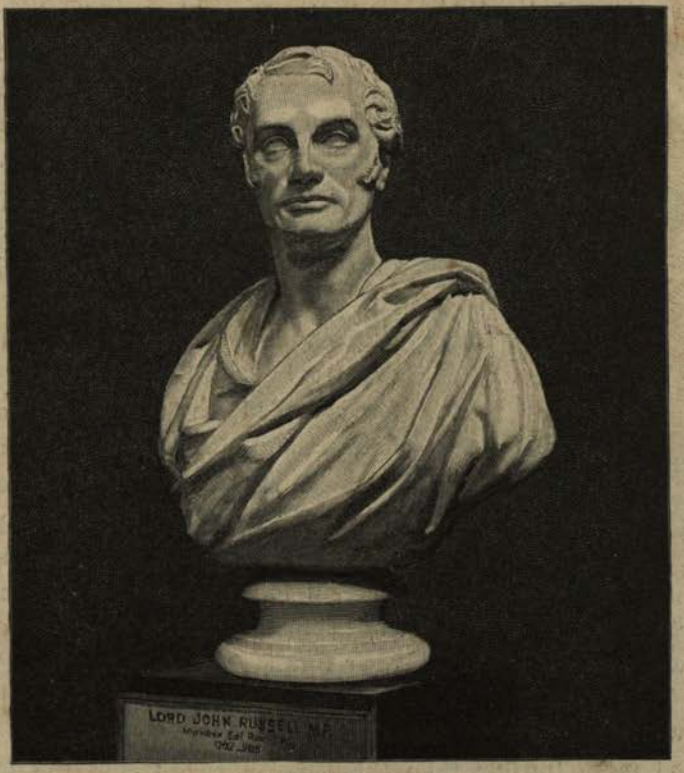
EPILOGUE 1815 TO 1873

ducer, claimed entire freedom of trade with the world. In 1839 an Anti-Corn-Law League had been formed to enforce the views of the advocates of free trade; and it was in great measure the alarm of the farmers and landowners at its action which had induced them

SIR ROBERT PEEL.
Picture by John Linnell, in National Portrait Gallery.

to give so vigorous a support to Sir Robert Peel. But though Peel entered office pledged to protective measures, his own mind was slowly veering round to a conviction of their inexpediency; and in 1846 the failure of the potato crop in Ireland and of the harvest

in England forced him to introduce a bill for the repeal of the Corn Laws. The bill passed, but the resentment of his own party soon drove him from office; and he was succeeded by a Whig Ministry under Lord John Russell, which remained in power till 1852. The first work of this Ministry was to carry out the policy of free trade into every department of British commerce; and from



LORD JOHN RUSSELL.
Bust by John Francis, in National Portrait Gallery.

that time to this the maxim of the League, to "buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest," has been accepted as the law of our commercial policy. Other events were few. The general overthrow of the continental monarchs in the Revolution of 1848 found faint echoes in a feeble rising in Ireland under Smith O'Brien which was easily suppressed by a few policemen, and in a demonstration of the Chartists in London which passed off without

EPILOGUE
1815 TO 1873

Russian and Sepoy Wars

further disturbance. A fresh war with the Sikhs in 1848 was closed by the victory of Goojerat and the annexation of the Punjaub in the following year.

The long peace which had been maintained between the European powers since the treaties of 1815 was now drawing to a close. In 1852 the Ministry of Lord John Russell was displaced by a short return of the Conservatives to power under Lord Derby; but a union of the Whigs with the Free Trade followers of Sir Robert Peel restored them to office at the close of the year. Lord Aberdeen, the head of the new administration, was at once compelled to resist the attempts of Russia to force on Turkey a humiliating treaty; and in 1854 England allied herself with Louis Napoleon, who had declared himself Emperor of the French, to resist the invasion of the Danubian Principalities by a Russian army. The army was withdrawn; but in September the allied force landed on the shores of the Crimea, and after a victory at the river Alma undertook the siege of Sebastopol. The garrison however soon proved as strong as the besiegers, and as fresh Russian forces reached the Crimea the Allies found themselves besieged in their turn. An attack on the English position at Inkerman on November the 5th was repulsed with the aid of a French division; but winter proved more terrible than the Russian sword, and the English force wasted away with cold or disease. The public indignation at its sufferings forced the Aberdeen Ministry from office in the opening of 1855; and Lord Palmerston became Premier with a Ministry which included those members of the last administration who were held to be most in earnest in the prosecution of the war. After a siege of nearly a year the Allies at last became masters of Sebastopol in September, and Russia, spent with the strife, consented in 1856 to the Peace of Paris. The military reputation of England had fallen low during the struggle, and

TURKISH MEDAL FOR DEFENCE OF SILISTRIA.
Tancred, "Record of Medals."

to this cause the mutiny of the native troops in Bengal, which quickly followed in 1857, may partly be attributed. Russian intrigues, Moslem fanaticism, resentment at the annexation of the kingdom of Oudh by Lord Dalhousie, and a fanatical belief on the part of the Hindoos that the English Government had resolved to make them Christians by forcing them to lose their caste, have all been assigned as causes of an outbreak which still remains mysterious. A mutiny at Meerut in May was followed by the seizure of Delhi, where the native king was enthroned as Emperor of Hindostan, by a fresh mutiny and massacre of the Europeans at Cawnpore, by the rising of Oudh and the siege of the Residency at Lucknow. The number of English troops in India was small, and for the moment all Eastern and Central Hindostan seemed lost; but Madras, Bombay, and the Punjaub remained untouched, and the English in Bengal and Oudh not only held their ground but marched upon Delhi, and in September took the town by storm. Two months later the arrival of reinforcements under Sir Colin Campbell relieved Lucknow, which had been saved till now by the heroic advance of Sir Henry Havelock with a handful of troops, and cleared Oudh of the mutineers. The suppression of the revolt was followed by a change in the government of India, which was transferred in 1858 from the Company to the Crown; the Queen being formally proclaimed its sovereign, and the Governor-General becoming her Viceroy.

SILVER COIN OF EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1675.

RUPEE OF BHURTPOOR, 1858.

The credit which Lord Palmerston won during the struggle with Russia and the Sepoys was shaken by his conduct in proposing an alteration in the law respecting conspiracies in 1858, in consequence of an attempt to assassinate Napoleon the Third which was believed to have originated on English ground. The violent language of the French army brought about a movement

Lord Palmerston

for the enlistment of a Volunteer force, which soon reached a hundred and fifty thousand men; and so great was the irritation it caused that the bill, which was thought to have been introduced in deference to the demands of France, was rejected by the House of Commons. Lord Derby again became Prime Minister for a few months: but a fresh election in 1859 brought back Lord Palmerston, whose Ministry lasted till his death in 1865. At home

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON.
From an engraving by Joseph Brown of a photograph by John Watkins.

his policy was one of pure inaction; and his whole energy was directed to the preservation of English neutrality in five great strifes which distracted not only Europe but the New World—a war between France and Austria in 1859 which ended in the creation of the kingdom of Italy, a civil war in America which began with the secession of the Southern States in 1861 and ended four years later in their subjugation, an insurrection of Poland in

1863, an attack of France upon Mexico, and of Austria and Prussia upon Denmark in 1864. The American war, by its interference with the supply of cotton, reduced Lancashire to distress; while the fitting out of piratical cruisers in English harbours in the name of the Southern Confederation gave America just grounds for an irritation which was only allayed at a far later time. Peace, however, was successfully preserved; and the policy of non-intervention was pursued after Lord Palmerston's death by his successor, Lord Russell, who remained neutral during the brief but decisive conflict between Prussia and Austria in 1866 which transferred to the former the headship of Germany.

EPILOGUE 1815 TO 1873

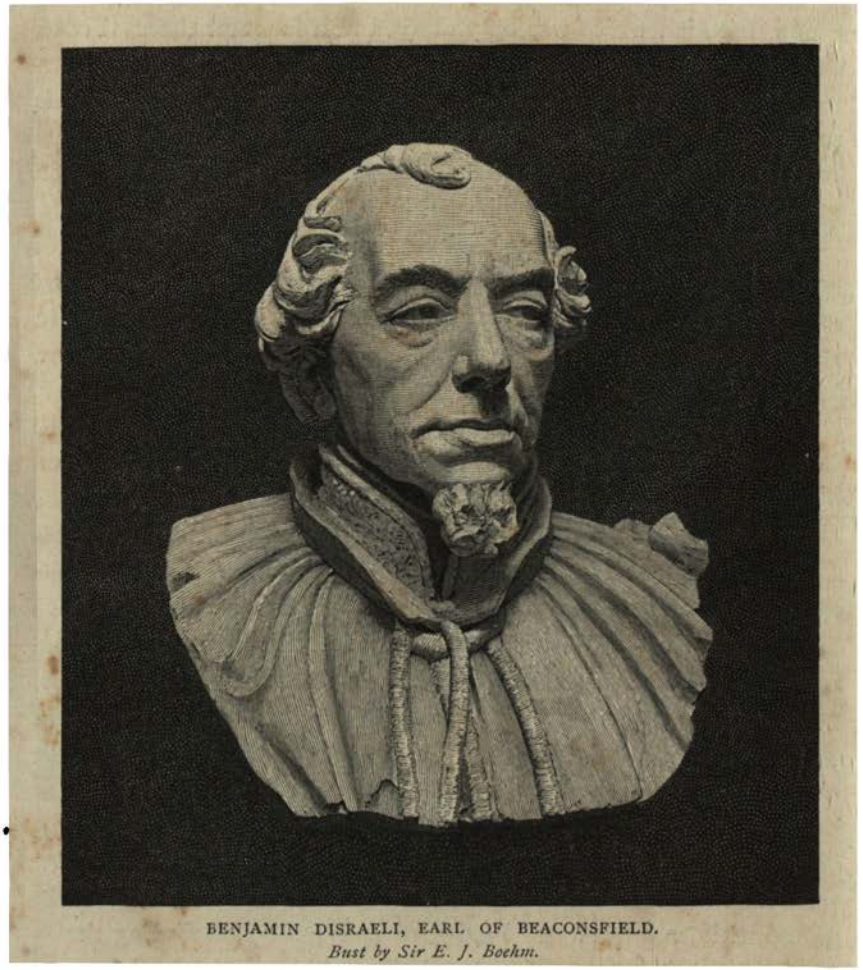
With Lord Palmerston, however, passed away the policy of political inaction which distinguished his rule. Lord Russell had long striven to bring about a further reform of Parliament; and in 1866 he laid a bill for that purpose before the House of Commons, whose rejection was followed by the resignation of the Ministry. Lord Derby, who again became Prime Minister, with Mr. Disraeli as leader of the House of Commons, found himself however driven to introduce in 1867 a Reform Bill of a far more sweeping character than that which had failed in Lord Russell's hands. By this measure, which passed in August, the borough franchise was extended to all ratepayers, as well as to lodgers occupying rooms of the annual value of £10; the county franchise was fixed at £12, thirty-three members were withdrawn from English boroughs, twenty-five of whom were transferred to English counties, and the rest assigned to Scotland and Ireland. Large numbers of the working classes were thus added to the constituencies; and the indirect effect of this great measure was at once seen in the vigorous policy of the Parliament which assembled after the new elections in 1868. Mr. Disraeli, who had become Prime Minister on the withdrawal of Lord Derby, retired quietly on finding that a Liberal majority of over one hundred members had been returned to the House of Commons; and his place was taken by Mr. Gladstone, at the head of a Ministry which for the first time included every section of the Liberal party. A succession of great measures proved the strength and energy of the new administration. Its first work was with Ireland, whose chronic discontent it endeavoured to remove by the disestablishment and disendowment

The New Reformers

1867

EPILOGUE 1815 TO 1873

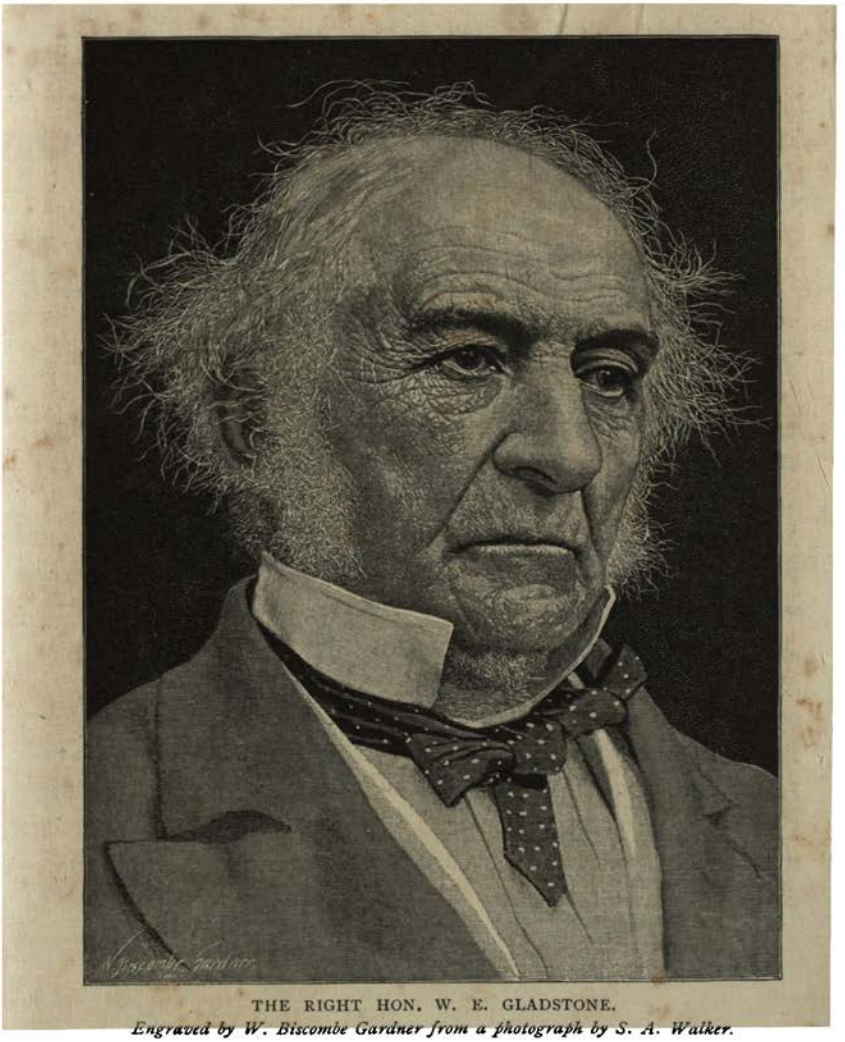
of the Protestant Church in 1869, and by a Land Bill which established a sort of tenant-right in every part of the country in 1870. The claims of the Nonconformists were met in 1868 by the abolition of compulsory church-rates, and in 1871 by the abolition



BENJAMIN DISRAELI, EARL OF BEACONSFIELD.
Bust by Sir E. J. Boehm.

of all religious tests for admission to offices or degrees in the Universities. Important reforms were undertaken in the management of the navy; and a plan for the entire reorganization of the army was carried into effect after the system of promotion to its command by purchase had been put an end to. In 1870 the ques-

tion of national education was furthered by a bill which provided for the establishment of School Boards in every district, and for their support by means of local rates. In 1872 a fresh step in Parliamentary reform was made by the passing of a measure which

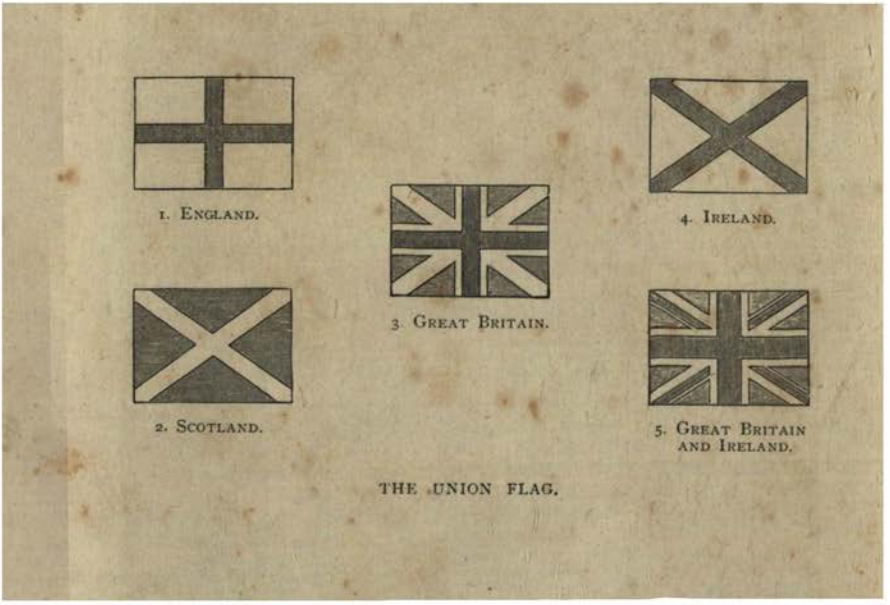


THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.
Engraved by W. Biscombe Gardner from a photograph by S. A. Walker.

enabled the votes of electors to be given in secret by means of the ballot. The greatness and rapidity of these changes, however, produced so rapid a reaction in the minds of the constituencies

EPILOGUE 1815 TO 1873

that on the failure of his attempt to pass a bill for organizing the higher education of Ireland, Mr. Gladstone felt himself forced in 1874 to consult public opinion by a dissolution of Parliament; and the return of a Conservative majority of nearly seventy members was necessarily followed by his retirement from office, Mr. Disraeli again becoming First Minister of the Crown.



THE UNION FLAG.

CHRONOLOGICAL ANNALS

OF

ENGLISH HISTORY

CHRONOLOGICAL ANNALS

OF

ENGLISH HISTORY

THE ENGLISH KINGDOMS

449—1016

449 **English land in Britain.**
457 Kent conquered by English.
477 Landing of South Saxons.
491 Siege of Anderida.
495 Landing of West Saxons.
519 **Cerdic** and **Cynric,** Kings of West Saxons.
520 British victory at Mount Badon.
547 Ida founds kingdom of Bernicia.
552 West Saxons take Old Sarum.
560 **Æthelberht,** King of Kent, died 616.
568 —— driven back by West Saxons.
571 West Saxons march into Mid-Britain.
577 —— conquer at Deorham.
584 —— defeated at Faddiley.
588 **Æthelric** creates Kingdom of Northumbria.
593 **Æthelfrith,** King of Northumbria, died 617.
597 *Augustine converts Kent.*
603 Battle of Dægsastan.
613 Battle of Chester.
617 **Eadwine,** King of Northumbria, died 633.
626 —— overlord of Britain.
Penda, King of the Mercians, died 655.
627 Eadwine becomes Christian.
633 —— slain at Hatfield.
635 **Oswald,** King of Bernicia, died 642.
—— defeats Welsh at Hevenfeld.
Aidan settles at Holy Island.
Conversion of Wessex.
642 Oswald slain at Maserfeld.
651 **Oswiu,** King of Northumbria, died 670.
655 —— victory at Winwæd.
658 West Saxons conquer as far as the Parret.
659 **Wulfhere,** King in Mercia.
661 —— drives West Saxons over Thames.
664 Council of Whitby.
Cædmon at Whitby.
668 *Theodore made Archbishop of Canterbury.*
670 **Ecgfrith,** King of Northumbria, died 685.
675 **Æthelred,** King of Mercia, died 704
681 *Wilfred converts South Saxons.*
682 Centwine of Wessex conquers Mid-Somerset.
685 Ecgfrith defeated and slain at Nectansmere.
688 **Ine,** King of West Saxons, died 726.
715 —— defeats Ceolred of Mercia at Wanborough.
716 **Æthelbald,** King of Mercia, died 757.
733 Mercian conquest of Wessex.
735 *Death of Bæda.*
753 *Death of Boniface.*
754 Wessex recovers freedom in battle of Burford.
756 Eadberht of Northumbria takes Alcluyd.
758 **Offa,** King of Mercia, died 796.
775 —— subdues Kentish men at Otford.
779 —— defeats West Saxons at Bensington.
786 —— places Beorhtric on throne of Wessex.
787 —— creates Archbishopric at Lichfield.
First landing of Danes in England.
796 **Cenwulf,** King of Mercia, died 821.
802 **Ecgberht** becomes King in Wessex, died 839.
803 Cenwulf suppresses Archbishopric of Lichfield.
808 Charles the Great restores Eardwulf in Northumbria.
815 Ecgberht subdues the West Welsh to the Tamar.

821 Civil war in Mercia.
825 Ecgberht defeats Mercians at Ellandun.
—— overlord of England south of Thames.
Revolt of East Anglia against Mercia.
827 Defeat of Mercians by East Anglians.
828 Mercia and Northumbria submit to Ecgberht.
Ecgberht overlord of all English kingdoms.
—— invades Wales.
837 —— defeats Danes at Hengestesdun.
839 **Æthelwulf,** King of Wessex, died 858.
849 Ælfred born.
851 Danes defeated at Aclea.
853 Ælfred sent to Rome.
855 Æthelwulf goes to Rome.
857 **Æthelbald,** King of Wessex, died 860.
860 **Æthelberht,** King of Wessex, died 866.
866 **Æthelred,** King of Wessex, died 871.
867 Danes conquer Northumbria.
868 Peace of Nottingham with Danes.
870 Danes conquer and settle in East Anglia.
871 Danes invade Wessex.
Ælfred, King of Wessex, died 901.
874 Danes conquer Mercia.
876 Danes settle in Northumbria.
877 Ælfred defeats Danes at Exeter.
878 Danes overrun Wessex.
Ælfred victor at Edington.
Peace of Wedmore.
883 Ælfred sends envoys to Rome and India.
886 Ælfred takes and refortifies London.
893 Danes reappear in Thames and Kent.
894 Ælfred drives Hasting from Wessex.
895 Hasting invades Mercia.
896 Ælfred drives Danes from Essex.
897 Hasting quits England.
Ælfred creates a fleet.
901 **Eadward the Elder,** died 925.
912 Northmen settle in Normandy.
913, **918** Æthelflæd conquers Danish Mercia.
921 Eadward subdues East Anglia and Essex.
924 ——owned as overlord by Northumbria, Scots, and Strathclyde.
925 **Æthelstan,** died 940.
926 —— drives Welsh from Exeter.
934 —— invades Scotland.
937 Victory of Brunanburh.
940 **Eadmund,** died 946.
943 Dunstan made Abbot of Glastonbury.
945 Cumberland granted to Malcolm, King of Scots.
946 **Eadred,** died 955.
954 —— makes Northumbria an earldom.
955 **Eadwig,** died 959.
956 Banishment of Dunstan.
957 Revolt of Mercia under Eadgar.
958 **Eadgar,** died 975.
959 *Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury.*
975 **Eadward the Martyr,** died 978.
978 **Æthelred the Unready,** died 1016.
987, **1040** Fulk the Black, Count of Anjou.
994 Invasion of Swein.
1002 Massacre of Danes.
1003 Swein harries Wessex.
1012 Murder of Archbishop Ælfheah.
1013 All England submits to Swein.
Flight of Æthelred to Normandy.
1016 **Eadmund Ironside,** King, and dies.

ENGLAND UNDER FOREIGN KINGS

1016—1204

1016 **Cnut,** King, died 1035.
1020 Godwine made Earl of Wessex.
1027 Cnut goes to Rome.
Birth of William of Normandy.
1035 Harald and Harthacnut divide England.
1037 **Harald,** King, died 1040.
1040 **Harthacnut,** King, died 1042.
1040, **1060** Geoffry Martel, Count of Anjou.
1042 **Eadward the Confessor,** died 1066.
1045 *Lanfranc at Bec.*
1047 Victory of William at Val-ès-dunes.
1051 Banishment of Godwine.
William of Normandy visits England.
1052 Return of Godwine.
1053 Death of Godwine.
Harold made Earl of West Saxons.
1054 William's victory at Mortemer.
1055 Harold's first campaign in Wales.
1054, **1060** Norman conquest of Southern Italy.
1058 William's victory at the Dive.
1060 Normans invade Sicily.
1063 Harold conquers Wales.
1066 **Harold,** King.
—— conquers at Stamford Bridge.
—— defeated at Senlac or Hastings.
William of Normandy, King, died 1087.
1068, **1071** Norman Conquest of England.
1070 Reorganization of the Church.
Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury.
1075 Rising of Roger Fitz-Osbern.
1081 William invades Wales.
1085 Failure of Danish invasion.
1086 Completion of Domesday Book.

1087 **William the Red,** died 1100.
1093 *Anselm, Archbishop.*
1094 Revolt of Wales against the Norman Marchers.
1095 Revolt of Robert de Mowbray.
1096 Normandy left in pledge to William.
1097 William invades Wales.
Anselm leaves England.
1098 War with France.
1100 **Henry the First,** died 1135.
Henry's Charter.
1101 Robert of Normandy invades England.
1106 Settlement of question of investitures.
English Conquest of Normandy.
1109–1129 Fulk of Jerusalem, Count of Anjou.
1110 War with France.
1111 War with Anjou.
1113 Peace of Gisors.
1114 Marriage of Matilda with Henry V.
1120 Wreck of White Ship.
1121 Henry's campaign in Wales.
1123 Revolt of Norman baronage.
1124 France and Anjou support William Clito.
1128 Matilda married to Geoffry of Anjou.
Death of the Clito in Flanders.
1134 Revolt of Wales.
1135 **Stephen** of Blois, died 1154.
1138 Normandy repulses the Angevins.
Revolt of Earl Robert.
Battle of the Standard.
1139 Seizure of the Bishops.
Landing of Matilda.
1141 Battle of Lincoln.
1147 *Birth of Gerald of Wales.*
1148 Matilda withdraws to Normandy.
Archbishop Theobald driven into exile.
1149 Henry of Anjou in England.
1151 Henry becomes Duke of Normandy.
1152 Henry marries Eleanor of Guienne.
1153 Henry in England. Treaty of Wallingford.
1154 **Henry the Second,** died 1189.
1159 Expedition against Toulouse.
The Great Scutage.
1162 Thomas made Archbishop of Canterbury.
1164 Constitutions of Clarendon.
Council of Northampton.
Flight of Archbishop Thomas.
1166 Assize of Clarendon.
1170 Strongbow's invasion of Ireland.
Inquest of Sheriffs.
Death of Archbishop Thomas.
1172 Henry's Conquest of Ireland.
1173–1174 Rebellion of Henry's sons.
1176 Assize of Northampton.
1178 Reorganization of Curia Regis.
1181 Assize of Arms.
1189 Revolt of Richard.
Richard the First, died 1199.
1190–1194 Richard's Crusade.
1194–1196 War with Philip Augustus.
1194–1246 Llewellyn-ap-Jorwerth in North Wales.
1197 Richard builds Château Gaillard.
1199 **John,** dies 1216.
1200 —— recovers Anjou and Maine.
Layamon writes the Brut.
1203 Murder of Arthur.
1204 French conquest of Anjou and Normandy.

THE GREAT CHARTER

1204–1295

1205 Barons refuse to fight for recovery of Normandy.
1206 *Stephen Langton Archbishop of Canterbury.*
1208 Innocent III. puts England under Interdict.
1210 John divides Irish Pale into counties.
1211 John reduces Llewellyn-ap-Jorwerth to submission.
1213 John becomes the Pope's vassal.
1214 Battle of Bouvines.
Birth of Roger Bacon.
1215 The Great Charter.
1216 Lewis of France called in by the Barons.
Henry the Third, died 1272.
Confirmation of the Charter.
1217 Lewis returns to France.
Charter again confirmed.
1219 Hubert de Burgh, Justiciar.
1221 *Friars land in England.*
1223 Charter again confirmed at London.
1224 Revolt of Faukes de Breauté.
1225 Fresh confirmation of Charter.
1228 Stephen Langton's death.
1229 Papal exactions.
1230 Failure of Henry's campaign in Poitou.
1231 Conspiracy against the Italian Clergy.
1232 Fall of Hubert de Burgh.
1237 Charter again confirmed.
1238 Earl Simon of Leicester marries Henry's sister.
1242 Defeat of Henry at Taillebourg.
Barons refuse subsidies.
1246–1283 Llewelyn-ap-Gruffydd, Prince in North Wales.
1248 Irish refusal of subsidies.
Earl Simon in Gascony.

1253 Earl Simon returns to England.
1258 Provisions of Oxford.
1264 Mise of Amiens.
Battle of Lewes.
1265 Commons summoned to Parliament.
Battle of Evesham.
1267 *Roger Bacon writes his "Opus Majus."*
Llewelyn-ap-Gruffydd owned as Prince of Wales.
1270 Edward goes on Crusade.
1272 **Edward the First,** died 1307.
1277 Edward reduces Llewelyn-ap-Gruffydd to submission.
1279 Statute of Mortmain.
1282 Conquest of Wales.
1283 Statute of Merchants.
1285 Statute of Winchester.
1290 Statute "Quia Emptores."
Expulsion of the Jews.
Marriage Treaty of Brigham.
1291 Parliament at Norham concerning Scotch succession.
1292 Edward claims appeals from Scotland.
Death of Roger Bacon.
1294 Seizure of Guienne by Philip of France.
1295 French fleet attacks Dover.
Final organization of the English Parliament.

THE WAR WITH SCOTLAND AND FRANCE

1296—1485

1296 Edward conquers Scotland.
1297 Victory of Wallace at Stirling.
Outlawry of the Clergy.
Barons refuse to serve in Guienne.
1298 Edward conquers Scots at Falkirk.
Truce with France.
1301 Barons demand nomination of Ministers by Parliament.
Barons exact fresh Confirmation of the Charters.
1304 Submission of Scotland.
1305 Parliament of Perth.
1306 Rising of Robert Bruce.
1307 Parliament of Carlisle.
Edward the Second, died 1327.
1308 Gaveston exiled.
1310 The Lords Ordainers draw up Articles of Reform.
1312 Death of Gaveston.
1314 Battle of Bannockburn.
1316 Battle of Athenree.
1318 Edward accepts the Ordinances.
1322 Death of Earl of Lancaster. Ordinances annulled.
1323 Truce with the Scots.
1324 French attack Aquitaine.
1325 The Queen and Prince Edward in France.
1326 Queen lands in England.
1327 Deposition of Edward II.
Edward the Third, died 1377.
1328 Treaty of Northampton recognizes independence of Scotland.
1329 Death of Robert Bruce.
1330 Death of Roger Mortimer.
1332 Edward Balliol invades Scotland.
1333 Battle of Halidon Hill.
Balliol does homage to Edward.
1335, 1336 Edward invades Scotland.
1336 France again declares war.
1337, 1338 War with France and Scotland.
Edward claims crown of France.
1339 Balliol driven from Scotland.
Edward attacks France from Brabant.
1340 Battle of Sluys.
1341, 1342 War in Brittany and Guienne.
1346 Battles of Crécy and Neville's Cross.
1347 Capture of Calais.
Truce with France.
1348 First appearance of the Black Death.
1349, 1351 Statutes of Labourers.
1351 First Statute of Provisors.
1353 First Statute of Præmunire.
1355 Renewal of French War.
1356 Battle of Poitiers.
1366 Statute of Kilkenny.
1367 The Black Prince victorious at Navarete.
1368 *Wyclif's treatise "De Dominio."*
1370 Storm of Limoges.
1372 Victory of Spanish fleet off Rochelle,
1374 Revolt of Aquitaine.
1376 The Good Parliament.
1377 Its work undone by the Duke of Lancaster.
Wyclif before the Bishop of London.
Richard the Second, died 1399.
1378 Gregory XI. denounces Wyclif's heresy.
1380 *Longland's "Piers the Ploughman."*
1381 Wyclif's declaration against Transubstantiation.
The Peasant Revolt.
1382 Condemnation of Wyclif at Blackfriars.
Suppression of the Poor Preachers.
1384 Death of Wyclif.
1386 Barons force Richard to dismiss the Earl of Suffolk.
1389, Truce with France.
1394 Richard in Ireland.
1396 Richard marries Isabella of France.
Truce with France prolonged.
1397 Murder of the Duke of Gloucester.

1398 Richard's plans of tyranny.
1399 Deposition of Richard.
Henry the Fourth, died 1413.
1400 Revolt of Owen Glyndwr in Wales
1401 Statute of Heresy.
1402 Battle of Homildon Hill.
1403 Revolt of the Percies.
1403, **1405** French descents on England.
1405 Revolt of Archbishop Scrope.
1407 French attack Gascony.
1411 English force sent to aid Duke of Burgundy in France.
1413 **Henry the Fifth,** died 1422.
1414 Lollard Conspiracy.
1415 Battle of Agincourt.
1417 Henry invades Normandy.
1419 Alliance with Duke of Burgundy.
1420 Treaty of Troyes.
1422 **Henry the Sixth,** died 1471.
1424 Battle of Verneuil.
1428, **1429** Siege of Orleans.
1430 County Suffrage restricted.
1431 Death of Joan of Arc.
1435 Congress of Arras.
1445 Marriage of Margaret of Anjou.
1447 Death of Duke of Gloucester.
1450 Impeachment and death of Duke of Suffolk.
Cade's Insurrection.
Loss of Normandy.
1451 Loss of Guienne.
1454 Duke of York named Protector.
1455 First Battle of St. Albans.
1456 End of York's Protectorate.
1459 Failure of Yorkist revolt.
1460 Battle of Northampton.
York acknowledged as successor.
Battle of Wakefield.
1461 Second Battle of St. Albans.
Battle of Mortimer's Cross.
Edward the Fourth, died 1483.
Battle of Towton.
1461, **1471** Warwick the King-maker.
1464 Edward marries Lady Grey.
1470 Warwick driven to France.
Flight of Edward to Flanders.
1471 Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury.
1475 Edward invades France.
1476 *Caxton settles in England.*
1483 Murder of **Edward the Fifth.**
Richard the Third, died 1485.
Buckingham's Insurrection.
1485 Battle of Bosworth.

THE TUDORS

1485—1603

1485 **Henry the Seventh,** died 1509.
1487 Conspiracy of Lambert Simnel.
1490 Treaty with Ferdinand and Isabella.
1492 Henry invades France.
1497 Cornish rebellion.
Perkin Warbeck captured.
Sebastian Cabot lands in America.
1499 *Colet and Erasmus at Oxford.*
1501 Arthur Tudor marries Catharine of Aragon.
1502 Margaret Tudor marries James the Fourth.
1505 *Colet Dean of S. Paul's.*
1509 **Henry the Eighth,** died 1547.
1509 *Erasmus writes the "Praise of Folly."*
1512 War with France.
1513 Battles of the Spurs and of Flodden.
Wolsey becomes chief Minister.
1515 *More's "Utopia."*
1517 Luther denounces Indulgences.
1520 Field of Cloth of Gold.
Luther burns the Pope's Bull.
1521 Quarrel of Luther with Henry the Eighth.
1522 Renewal of French war.
1523 Wolsey quarrels with the Commons.
1525 Exaction of Benevolences defeated.
Peace with France.
Tyndale translates the New Testament.
1526 Henry resolves on a Divorce. Persecution of Protestants.
1529 Fall of Wolsey. Ministry of Norfolk and More.
1531 King acknowledged as "Supreme Head of the Church of England."
1532 Statute of Appeals.
1534 Acts of Supremacy and Succession.
1535 Cromwell Vicar-General.
Death of More.
Overthrow of the Geraldines in Ireland.
1536 Dissolution of lesser Monasteries.
1537 Pilgrimage of Grace.
1538 English Bible issued.
1539 Execution of Lord Exeter.
Law of Six Articles.
Suppression of Greater Abbeys.
1542 Completion of the Tudor Conquest of Ireland.
1544 War with France.
1547 Execution of Earl of Surrey.
Edward the Sixth, died 1553.
Battle of Pinkie Cleugh.
Suppression of Chantries.
1548 English Book of Common Prayer.
1549 Western Rebellion. End of Somerset's Protectorate.
1551 Death of Somerset.

1553 **Mary,** died 1558.
Chancellor discovers Archangel.
1554 Mary marries Philip of Spain.
England absolved by Cardinal Pole
1555 Persecution of Protestants begins.
1556 Burning of Archbishop Cranmer.
1557 War with France.
1558 Loss of Calais.
Elizabeth, died 1603.
1559 —— restores Royal Supremacy and English Prayer Book.
1560 War in Scotland.
1561 Mary Stuart lands in Scotland.
1562 Rebellion of Shane O'Neill in Ulster.
Elizabeth supports French Huguenots.
Hawkins begins Slave Trade with Africa.
1563 First penal statute against Catholics.
English driven out of Havre.
Thirty-nine Articles imposed on clergy.
1565 Mary marries Darnley.
1566 Darnley murders Rizzio.
Royal Exchange built.
1567 Murder of Darnley.
Defeat and death of Shane O'Neill.
1568 Mary flies to England.
1569 Revolt of the northern Earls.
1570 Bull of Deposition published.
1571 Conspiracy and death of Norfolk.
1572 Rising of the Low Countries against Alva.
Cartwright's "Admonition to the Parliament."
1575 Queen refuses Netherlands.
1576 *First public Theatre in Blackfriars.*
Landing of the Seminary Priests.
1577 Drake sets sail for the Pacific.
1579 *Lyly's "Euphues."*
Spenser publishes "Shepherd's Calendar."
1580 Campian and Parsons in England.
Revolt of the Desmonds.
Massacre of Smerwick.
1583 Plots to assassinate Elizabeth.
New powers given to Ecclesiastical Commission.
1584 Murder of Prince of Orange.
Armada gathers in the Tagus.
Colonization of Virginia.
1585 English Army sent to Netherlands.
Drake on the Spanish Coast.
1586 Battle of Zutphen.
Babington's Plot.
1587 *Shakspere in London.*
Death of Mary Stuart.
Drake burns Spanish fleet at Cadiz.
Marlowe's "Tamburlaine."
1588 Defeat of the Armada.
Martin Marprelate Tracts.
1589 Drake plunders Corunna.
1590 *Publication of the "Faerie Queen."*
1593 *Shakspere's "Venus and Adonis."*
1594 Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity."
1596 *Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour."*
Descent upon Cadiz.
1597 Ruin of the Second Armada.
Bacon's "Essays."
1598 Revolt of Hugh O'Neill.
1599 Expedition of Earl of Essex in Ireland.
1601 Execution of Essex.
1603 Mountjoy completes the conquest of Ireland.
Death of Elizabeth.

THE STUARTS

1603—1688

1603 **James the First,** died 1625.
Millenary Petition.
1604 Parliament claims to deal with both Church and State.
Hampton Court Conference.
1605 Gunpowder Plot.
Bacon's "Advancement of Learning."
1610 Parliament's Petition of Grievances.
Plantation of Ulster.
1613 Marriage of the Elector Palatine.
1614 First quarrels with the Parliament.
1616 Trial of the Earl and Countess of Somerset.
Dismissal of Chief Justice Coke.
Death of Shakspere.
1617 Bacon Lord Keeper.
Proposals for the Spanish Marriage.
The Declaration of Sports.
1617 } Expedition and death of Ralegh.
1618 }
1618 Beginning of Thirty Years' War.
1620 Invasion of the Palatinate.
Landing of the Pilgrim-Fathers in New England.
1621 *Bacon's "Novum Organum."*
Impeachment of Bacon.
James tears out the Protestation of the Commons.
1623 Journey of Prince Charles to Madrid.
1624 Resolve of War against Spain.
1625 **Charles the First,** died 1649.
First Parliament dissolved.
Failure of expedition against Cadiz.
1626 Buckingham impeached.
Second Parliament dissolved.
1627 Levy of Benevolence and Forced Loan.
Failure of expedition to Rochelle.
1628 The Petition of Right.
Murder of Buckingham.
Laud Bishop of London.

1629 Dissolution of Third Parliament.
Charter granted to Massachusetts.
Wentworth Lord President of the North.
1630 Puritan Emigration to New England.
1633 Wentworth Lord Deputy in Ireland.
Laud Archbishop of Canterbury.
Milton's "Allegro" and "Penseroso."
Prynne's "Histrio-mastix."
1634 *Milton's "Comus."*
1636 Juxon Lord Treasurer.
Book of Canons and Common Prayer issued for Scotland.
Hampden refuses to pay Ship-money.
1637 Revolt of Edinburgh.
Trial of Hampden.
1638 *Milton's "Lycidas."*
The Scotch Covenant.
1639 Leslie at Dunse Law.
Pacification of Berwick.
1640 The Short Parliament.
The Bishops' War.
Great Council of Peers at York.
Long Parliament meets, *Nov.*
Pym leader of the Commons.
1641 Execution of Strafford, *May.*
Charles visits Scotland.
Hyde organizes royalist party.
The Irish Massacre, *Oct.*
The Grand Remonstrance, *Nov.*
1642 Impeachment of Five Members, *Jan.*
Charles before Hull, *April.*
Royalists withdraw from Parliament.
Charles raises Standard at Nottingham, *August* 22.
Battle of Edgehill, *Oct.* 23.
Hobbes writes the "De Cive."
1643 Assembly of Divines at Westminster.
Rising of the Cornishmen, *May.*
Death of Hampden, *June.*
Battle of Roundway Down, *July.*
Siege of Gloucester, *Aug.*
Death of Falkland, *Sept.*
Charles negotiates with Irish Catholics.
Taking of the Covenant, *Sept.* 25.
1644 Fight at Cropredy Bridge, *June.*
Battle of Marston Moor, *July* 2.
Surrender of Parliamentary Army in Cornwall, *Sept.* 2.
Battle of Tippermuir, *Sept.* 2.
Battle of Newbury, *Oct.*
Milton's "Areopagitica."
1645 Self-denying Ordinance, *April.*
New Model raised.
Battle of Naseby, *June* 14.
Battle of Philiphaugh, *Sept.*
1646 Charles surrenders to the Scots, *May.*
1647 Scots surrender Charles to the Houses, *Jan.* 30.
Army elects Agitators, *April.*
The King seized at Holmby House, *June.*
"Humble Representation" of the Army, *June.*
Expulsion of the Eleven Members.
1647 Army occupies London, *Aug.*
Flight of the King, *Nov.*
Secret Treaty of Charles with the Scots, *Dec.*
1648 Outbreak of the Royalist Revolt, *Feb.*
Revolt of the Fleet, and of Kent, *May.*
Fairfax and Cromwell in Essex and Wales, *June—July.*
Battle of Preston, *Aug.* 17.
Surrender of Colchester, *Aug.* 27.
Pride's Purge, *Dec.*
Royal Society begins at Oxford.
1649 Execution of Charles I., *Jan.* 30.
Scotland proclaims Charles II. King.
England proclaims itself a Commonwealth.
Cromwell storms Drogheda, *Sept.* 11.
1650 Cromwell enters Scotland.
Battle of Dunbar, *Sept.* 3.
1651 Battle of Worcester, *Sept.* 3.
Hobbes's "Leviathan."
1652 Union with Scotland.
Outbreak of Dutch War, *May.*
Victory of Tromp, *Nov.*
1653 Victory of Blake, *Feb.*
Cromwell drives out the Parliament, *April* 20.
Constituent Convention (Barebones Parliament), *July.*
Convention dissolves, *Dec.*
The Instrument of Government.
Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector, died 1658.
1654 Peace concluded with Holland.
First Protectorate Parliament, *Sept.*
1655 Dissolution of the Parliament, *Jan.*
The Major-Generals.
Settlement of Scotland and Ireland.
Settlement of the Church.
Blake in the Mediterranean.
War with Spain and Conquest of Jamaica.
1656 Second Protectorate Parliament, *Sept.*
1657 Blake's victory at Santa Cruz.
Cromwell refuses title of King.
Act of Government.
1658 Parliament dissolved, *Feb.*
Battle of the Dunes.
Capture of Dunkirk.
Death of Cromwell, *Sept.* 3.
Richard Cromwell, Lord Protector, died 1712.
1659 Third Protectorate Parliament.
Parliament dissolved.
Long Parliament recalled.
Long Parliament again driven out.
1660 Monk enters London.
The "Convention" Parliament.
Charles the Second, lands at Dover, *May,* died 1685.
Union of Scotland and Ireland undone.
1661 Cavalier Parliament begins.
1662 Act of Uniformity re-enacted.
Puritan clergy driven out.
Royal Society at London.

1663 Dispensing Bill fails.
1664 Conventicle Act.
1665 Dutch War begins.
Five Mile Act.
Plague of London.
Newton's Theory of Fluxions.
1666 Fire of London.
1667 The Dutch in the Medway.
Dismissal of Clarendon.
Peace of Breda.
Lewis attacks Flanders.
Milton's "Paradise Lost."
1668 The Triple Alliance.
Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
Ashley shrinks back from toleration to Catholics.
1670 Treaty of Dover.
Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" written.
1671 *Milton's "Paradise Regained" and "Samson Agonistes."*
Newton's Theory of Light.
1672 Closing of the Exchequer.
Declaration of Indulgence.
War begins with Holland.
Ashley made Chancellor.
1673 Declaration of Indulgence withdrawn.
The Test Act.
Shaftesbury dismissed.
Shaftesbury takes the lead of the Country Party.
1674 Bill of Protestant Securities fails.
Charles makes Peace with Holland.
Danby Lord Treasurer.
1675 Treaty of mutual aid between Charles and Lewis.
1677 Shaftesbury sent to the Tower.
Bill for Security of the Church fails.
Address of the Houses for War with France.
Prince of Orange marries Mary.
1678 Peace of Nimeguen.
Oates invents the Popish Plot.
1679 New Parliament meets.
Fall of Danby.
New Ministry with Shaftesbury at its head.
Temple's plan for a new Council.
Habeas Corpus Act passed.
Exclusion Bill introduced.
1679 Parliament dissolved.
Shaftesbury dismissed.
1680 Committee for agitation formed.
Monmouth pretends to the throne.
Petitioners and Abhorrers.
Exclusion Bill thrown out by the Lords.
Trial of Lord Stafford.
1681 Parliament at Oxford.
Treaty with France.
Limitation Bill rejected.
Shaftesbury and Monmouth arrested.
1682 Conspiracy and flight of Shaftesbury.
Penn founds Pennsylvania.
1683 Death of Shaftesbury.
Rye House Plot.
Execution of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney.
1684 Town charters quashed.
Army increased.
1685 **James the Second,** died 1701.
Insurrection of Argyll and Monmouth.
Battle of Sedgemoor, *July* 6.
The Bloody Circuit.
Army raised to 20,000 men.
Revocation of Edict of Nantes
1686 Test Act dispensed with by royal authority.
Ecclesiastical Commission set up.
1687 *Newton's "Principia."*
Expulsion of the Fellows of Magdalen.
Dismissal of Lords Rochester and Clarendon.
Declaration of Indulgence.
The Boroughs regulated.
William of Orange protests against the Declaration.
Tyrconnell made Lord Deputy in Ireland.
1688 Clergy refuse to read the new Declaration of Indulgence.
Birth of James's son.
Invitation to William.
Trial of the Seven Bishops.
Irish troops brought over to England.
Lewis attacks Germany.
William of Orange lands at Torbay.
Flight of James.

MODERN ENGLAND

1689—1874

1689 Convention Parliament.
Declaration of Rights.
William and Mary made King and Queen.
William forms the Grand Alliance against Lewis.
Battle of Killiecrankie, *July* 27.
Siege of Londonderry.
Mutiny Bill.
Toleration Bill.
1689 Bill of Rights.
Secession of the Non-jurors.
1690 Abjuration Bill and Act of Grace.
Battle of Beachy Head, *June* 30.
Battle of the Boyne, *July* 1.
William repulsed from Limerick.
1691 Battle of Aughrim, *July.*
Capitulation and Treaty of Limerick
1692 Massacre of Glencoe.
Battle of La Hogue, *May* 19.

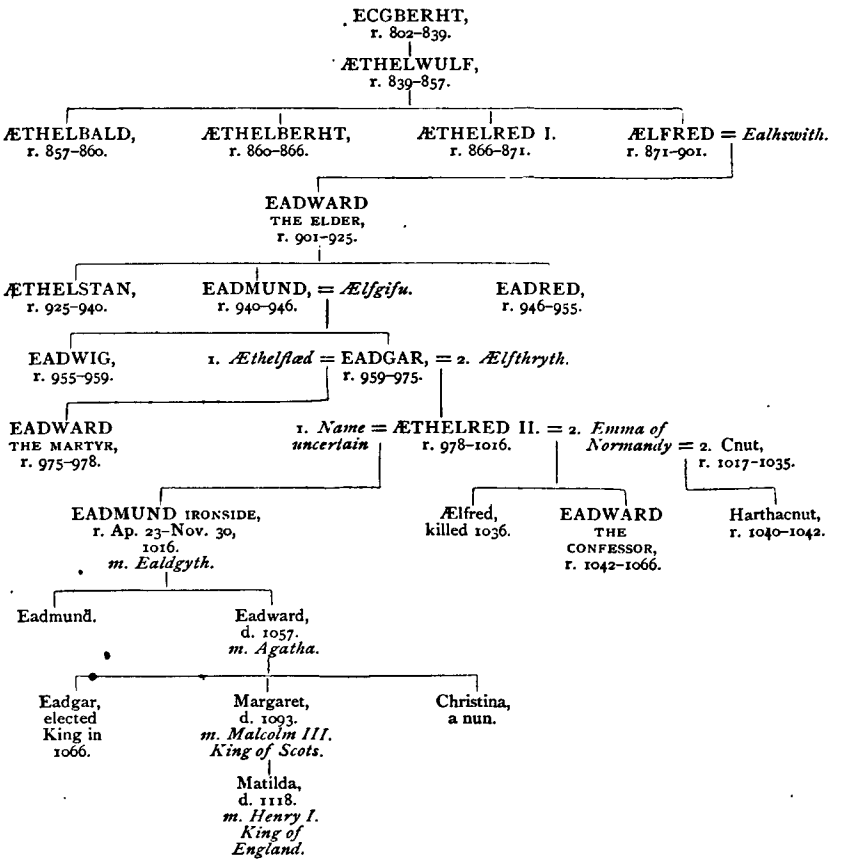
1693 Sunderland's plan of a Ministry.
1694 Bank of England set up.
Death of Mary.
1696 Currency restored.
1697 Peace of Ryswick.
1698 First Partition Treaty.
1700 Second Partition Treaty.
1701 Duke of Anjou becomes King of Spain.
Act of Settlement passed.
Death of James II.
1702 **Anne,** died 1714.
1704 Battle of Blenheim, *August* 13.
Harley and St. John take office.
1705 Victories of Peterborough in Spain.
1706 Battle of Ramillies, *May* 23.
1707 Act of Union with Scotland.
1708 Dismissal of Harley and St. John.
Battle of Oudenarde.
1709 Battle of Malplaquet.
1710 Trial of Sacheverell.
Tory Ministry of Harley and St. John.
1712 Dismissal of Marlborough.
1713 Treaty of Utrecht.
1714 **George the First,** died 1727.
Ministry of Townshend and Walpole.
1715 Jacobite Revolt under Lord Mar.
1716 The Septennial Bill.
1717 The Triple Alliance,
Ministry of Lord Stanhope.
1718 The Quadruple Alliance.
1720 Failure of the Peerage Bill.
The South Sea Company.
1721 Ministry of Sir Robert Walpole.
1723 Exile of Bishop Atterbury.
1727 War with Austria and Spain.
George the Second, died 1760.
1729 Treaty of Seville.
1730 Free exportation of American rice allowed.
1731 Treaty of Vienna.
1733 Walpole's Excise Bill.
War of the Polish Succession.
Family compact between France and Spain.
1737 Death of Queen Caroline.
1738 *The Methodists appear in London.*
1739 War declared with Spain.
1740 War of the Austrian Succession.
1742 Resignation of Walpole.
1743 Battle of Dettingen, *June* 27.
1745 Ministry of Henry Pelham.
Battle of Fontenoy, *May* 31.
Charles Edward lands in Scotland.
Battle of Prestonpans, *Sept.* 21.
Charles Edward reaches Derby, *Dec.* 4.
1746 Battle of Falkirk, *Jan.* 23.
Battle of Culloden, *April* 16.
1748 Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1751 Clive's surprise of Arcot.
1754 Death of Henry Pelham.
Ministry of Duke of Newcastle.
1755 The Seven Years' War.
Defeat of General Braddock.
1756 Loss of Port Mahon.
1756 Retreat of Admiral Byng.
1757 Convention of Closter-Seven.
Ministry of William Pitt.
Battle of Plassey, *June* 23.
1758 Capture of Louisburg and Cape Breton.
Capture of Fort Duquesne.
1759 Battle of Minden, *August* 1.
Capture of Fort Niagara and Ticonderoga.
Wolfe's victory on Heights of Abraham.
Battle of Quiberon Bay, *Nov.* 20.
1760 **George the Third,** died 1820.
Battle of Wandewash.
1761 Pitt resigns office.
Ministry of Lord Bute.
Brindley's Canal over the Irwell.
1763 Peace of Paris.
Ministry of George Grenville.
Wedgwood establishes Potteries.
1764 First expulsion of Wilkes from House of Commons.
Hargreaves invents Spinning Jenny.
1765 Stamp Act passed.
Ministry of Lord Rockingham.
Meeting and protest of American Congress.
Watt invents Steam Engine.
1766 Repeal of Stamp Act.
Ministry of Lord Chatham.
1768 Ministry of the Duke of Grafton.
Second expulsion of Wilkes.
Arkwright invents Spinning Machine.
1769 Wilkes three times elected for Middlesex.
House of Commons seats Col. Luttrell.
Occupation of Boston by British troops.
Letters of Junius.
1770 Chatham's proposal of Parliamentary Reform.
Ministry of Lord North.
1771 Last attempt to prevent Parliamentary reporting.
Beginning of the great English Journals.
1773 Hastings appointed Governor-General.
Boston tea-riots.
1774 Military occupation of Boston.
Its port closed.
Massachusetts Charter altered.
Congress assembles at Philadelphia.
1775 Rejection of Chatham's plan of conciliation.
Skirmish at Lexington.
Americans, under Washington, besiege Boston.
Battle of Bunker's Hill.
Southern Colonies expel their Governors.
1776 *Crompton invents the Mule.*
Arnold invades Canada.
Evacuation of Boston.
Declaration of Independence, *July* 4.
Battles of Brooklyn and Trenton.

1776 *Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations."*
1777 Battle of Brandywine.
Surrender of Saratoga, *Oct.* 17.
Chatham proposes Federal Union.
Washington at Valley Forge.
1778 Alliance of France and Spain with United States.
Death of Chatham.
1779 Siege of Gibraltar.
Armed Neutrality of ' Northern Powers.
The Irish Volunteers.
1780 Capture of Charlestown.
Descent of Hyder Ali on the Carnatic.
1781 Defeat of Hyder at Porto Novo.
Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.
1782 Ministry of Lord Rockingham.
Victories of Rodney.
Repeal of Poynings' Act.
Pitt's Bill for Parliamentary Reform.
Burke's Bill of Economical Reform.
Shelburne Ministry.
Repulse of Allies from Gibraltar.
1783 Treaties of Paris and Versailles.
Coalition Ministry of Fox and North.
Fox's India Bill.
Ministry of Pitt.
1784 Pitt's India Bill.
Financial Reforms.
1785 Parliamentary Reform Bill.
Free Trade Bill between England and Ireland.
1786 Trial of Warren Hastings.
1787 Treaty of Commerce with France.
1788 The Regency Bill.
1789 Meeting of States-General at Versailles.
New French Constitution.
Triple Alliance for defence of Turkey.
1790 Quarrel over Nootka Sound.
Pitt defends Poland.
Burke's "Reflections on the French Revolution."
1791 Representative Government set up in Canada.
Fox's Libel Act.
Burke's "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs."
1792 Pitt hinders Holland from joining the Coalition.
France opens the Scheldt.
Pitt's efforts for peace.
The United Irishmen.
1793 France declares War on England.
Part of Whigs join Pitt.
English army lands in Flanders.
English driven from Toulon.
1794 English driven from Holland.
Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act.
Victory of Lord Howe, *June* 1.
1796 *Burke's "Letters on a Regicide Peace."*
1797 England alone in the War with France.
Battle of Camperdown.
Battle of Cape St. Vincent.
1798 Irish revolt crushed at Vinegar Hill.
Battle of the Nile.
1799 Pitt revives the Coalition against France.
Conquest of Mysore.
1800 Surrender of Malta to English Fleet.
Armed Neutrality of Northern Powers.
Act of Union with Ireland.
1801 George the Third rejects Pitt's Plan of Catholic Emancipation.
Administration of Mr. Addington.
Surrender of French army in Egypt.
Battle of Copenhagen.
1802 Peace of Amiens.
Publication of "Edinburgh Review."
1803 War declared against Buonaparte.
Battle of Assaye.
1804 Second Ministry of Pitt.
1805 Battle of Trafalgar, *Oct.* 21.
1806 Death of Pitt, *Jan.* 23.
Ministry of Lord Grenville.
Death of Fox.
1807 Orders in Council.
Abolition of Slave Trade.
Ministry of Duke of Portland.
Seizure of Danish Fleet.
1808 Battle of Vimiera, and Convention of Cintra.
1809 America passes Non-Intercourse Act.
Battle of Corunna, *Jan.* 16.
Wellesley drives Soult from Oporto.
Battle of Talavera, *July* 28.
Expedition against Walcheren.
Ministry of Spencer Perceval.
Revival of Parliamentary Reform.
1810 Battle of Busaco.
Lines of Torres Vedras.
1811 Prince of Wales becomes Regent.
Battle of Fuentes d'Onore, *May* 5.
Luddite Riots.
1812 Assassination of Spencer Perceval.
Ministry of Lord Liverpool.
Storm of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz.
America declares War against England.
Battle of Salamanca, *July* 22.
Wellington retreats from Burgos.
Victories of American frigates.
1813 Battle of Vitoria, *June* 21.
Battles of the Pyrenees.
Wellington enters France, *Oct.*
Americans attack Canada.
1814 Battle of Orthes.
Battle of Toulouse, *April* 10.
Battle of Chippewa, *July.*
Raid upon Washington.
British repulses at Plattsburg and New Orleans.
1815 Battle of Quatre Bras, *June* 16.
Battle of Waterloo, *June* 18.
Treaty of Vienna.
1819 Manchester Massacre.
1820 Cato Street Conspiracy.
George the Fourth, died 1830.

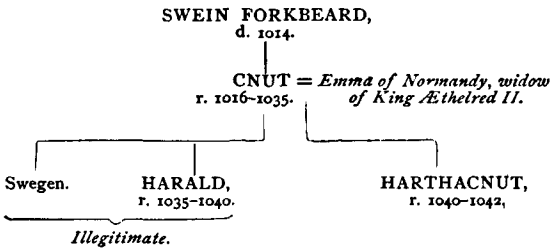
1820 Bill for the Queen's Divorce.
1822 Canning Foreign Minister.
1823 Mr. Huskisson joins the Ministry.
1826 Expedition to Portugal.
Recognition of South American States.
1827 Ministry of Mr. Canning.
Ministry of Lord Goderich.
Battle of Navarino.
1828 Ministry of Duke of Wellington.
1829 Catholic Emancipation Bill.
1830 **William the Fourth,** died 1837.
Ministry of Lord Grey.
Opening of Liverpool and Manchester Railway.
1831 Reform Agitation.
1832 Parliamentary Reform Bill passed, *June* 7.
1833 Suppression of Colonial Slavery.
East Indian trade thrown open.
1834 Ministry of Lord Melbourne.
New Poor Law.
System of National Education begun.
Ministry of Sir Robert Peel.
1835 Ministry of Lord Melbourne replaced.
Municipal Corporation Act.
1836 General Registration Act.
Civil Marriages Act.
1837 **Victoria.**
1838 Formation of Anti-Corn-Law League.
1839 Committee of Privy Council for Education instituted.
Demands for a People's Charter.
Revolt in Canada.
War with China.
Occupation of Cabul.
1840 Quadruple Alliance with France, Portugal and Spain.
Bombardment of Acre.
1841 Ministry of Sir Robert Peel.
1842 Income Tax revived.
1842 Peace with China.
Massacre of English Army in Affghanistan.
Victories of Pollock in Affghanistan.
Annexation of Scinde.
1845 Battles of Moodkee and Ferozeshah.
1846 Battle of Sobraon.
Repeal of the Corn Laws.
Ministry of Lord John Russell.
1848 Suppression of the Chartists and Irish rebels.
1849 Victory of Goojerat.
Annexation of the Punjaub.
1852 Ministry of Lord Derby.
Ministry of Lord Aberdeen.
1854 Alliance with France against Russia.
Siege of Sebastopol.
Battle of Inkermann, *Nov.* 5.
1855 Ministry of Lord Palmerston.
Capture of Sebastopol.
1856 Peace of Paris with Russia.
1857 Sepoy Mutiny in Bengal.
1858 Sovereignty of India transferred to the Crown.
Volunteer movement.
Second Ministry of Lord Derby.
1859 Second Ministry of Lord Palmerston.
1865 Ministry of Lord Russell.
1866 Third Ministry of Lord Derby.
1867 Parliamentary Reform Bill.
1868 Ministry of Mr. Disraeli.
Ministry of Mr. Gladstone.
1869 Disestablishment of Episcopal Church in Ireland.
1870 Irish Land Bill.
Education Bill.
1871 Abolition of religious tests in Universities.
Army Bill.
1872 Ballot Bill.
1874 Second Ministry of Mr. Disraeli.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

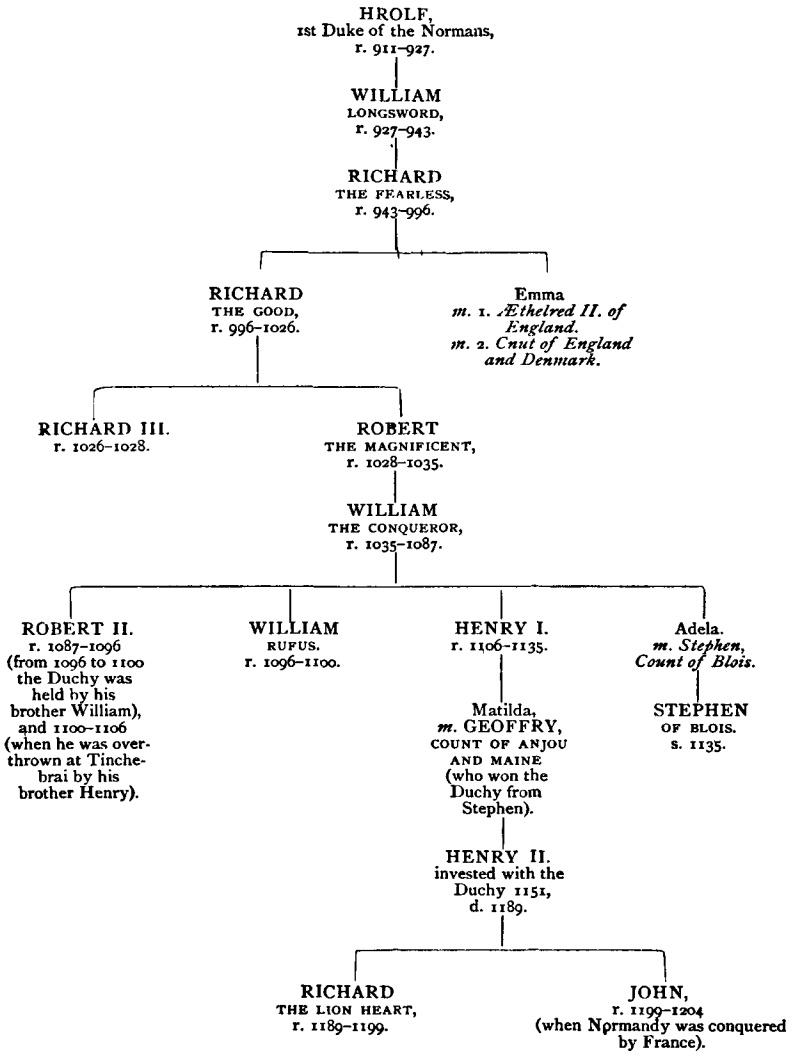
KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF CERDIC, FROM ECGBERHT


ECGBERHT, r. 802–839.
ÆTHELWULF, r. 839–857.
ÆTHELBALD, r. 857–860.
ÆTHELBERHT, r. 860–866.
ÆTHELRED I. r. 866–871.
ÆLFRED = Ealhswith. r. 871–901.
EADWARD THE ELDER, r. 901–925.
ÆTHELSTAN, r. 925–940.
EADMUND, = Ælfgifu. r. 940–946.
EADRED, r. 946–955.
EADWIG, r. 955–959.
1. Æthelflæd = EADGAR, = 2. Ælfthryth. r. 959–975.
EADWARD THE MARTYR, r. 975–978.
1. Name uncertain = ÆTHELRED II. = 2. Emma of Normandy = 2. Cnut, r. 978–1016. r. 1017–1035.
EADMUND IRONSIDE, r. Ap. 23–Nov. 30, 1016. m. Ealdgyth.
Ælfred, killed 1036.
EADWARD THE CONFESSOR, r. 1042–1066.
Harthacnut, r. 1040–1042.
Eadmund.
Eadward, d. 1057. m. Agatha.
Eadgar, elected King in 1066.
Margaret, d. 1093. m. Malcolm III. King of Scots.
Christina, a nun.
Matilda, d. 1118. m. Henry I. King of England.

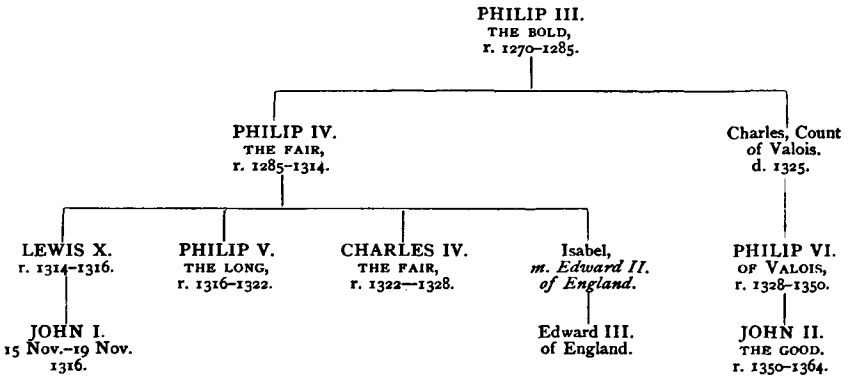
THE DANISH KINGS


SWEIN FORKBEARD, d. 1014.
CNUT = Emma of Normandy, widow of King Æthelred II. r. 1016–1035.
Swegen.
HARALD, r. 1035–1040.
HARTHACNUT, r. 1040–1042,
Illegitimate.

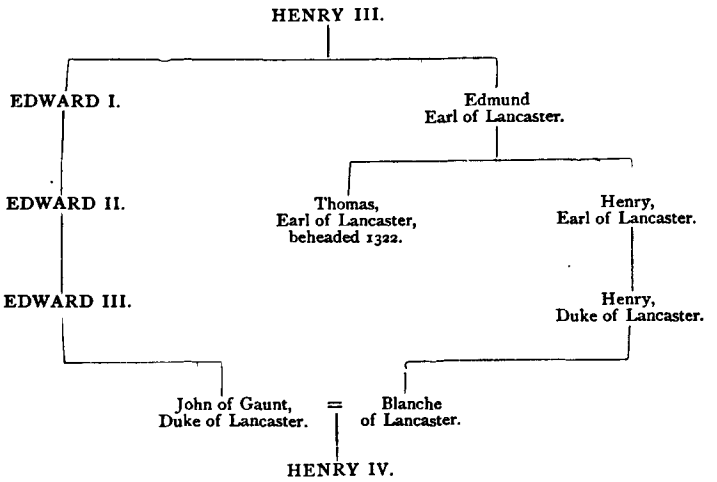
DUKES OF THE NORMANS



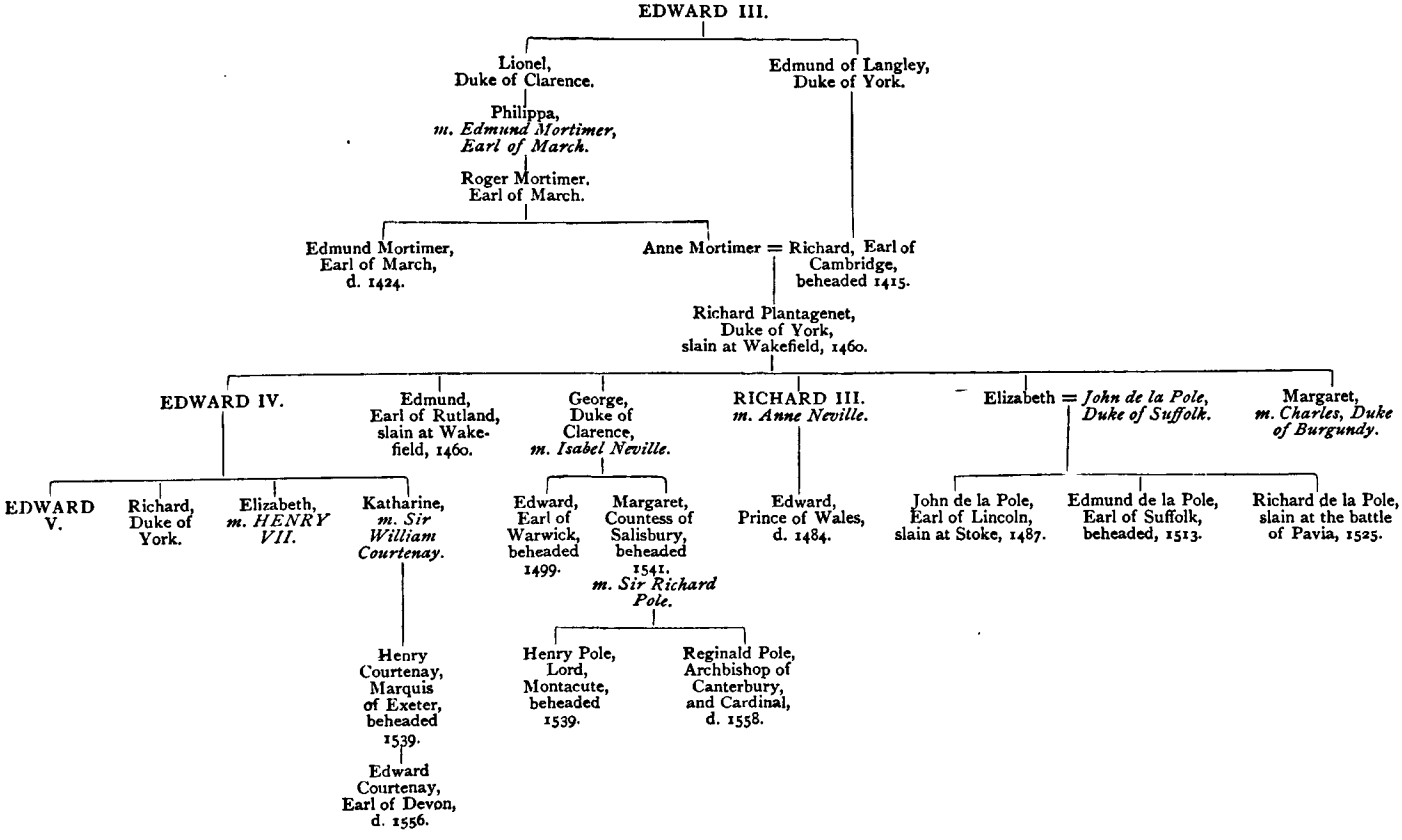
Claim of EDWARD III. to the French Crown



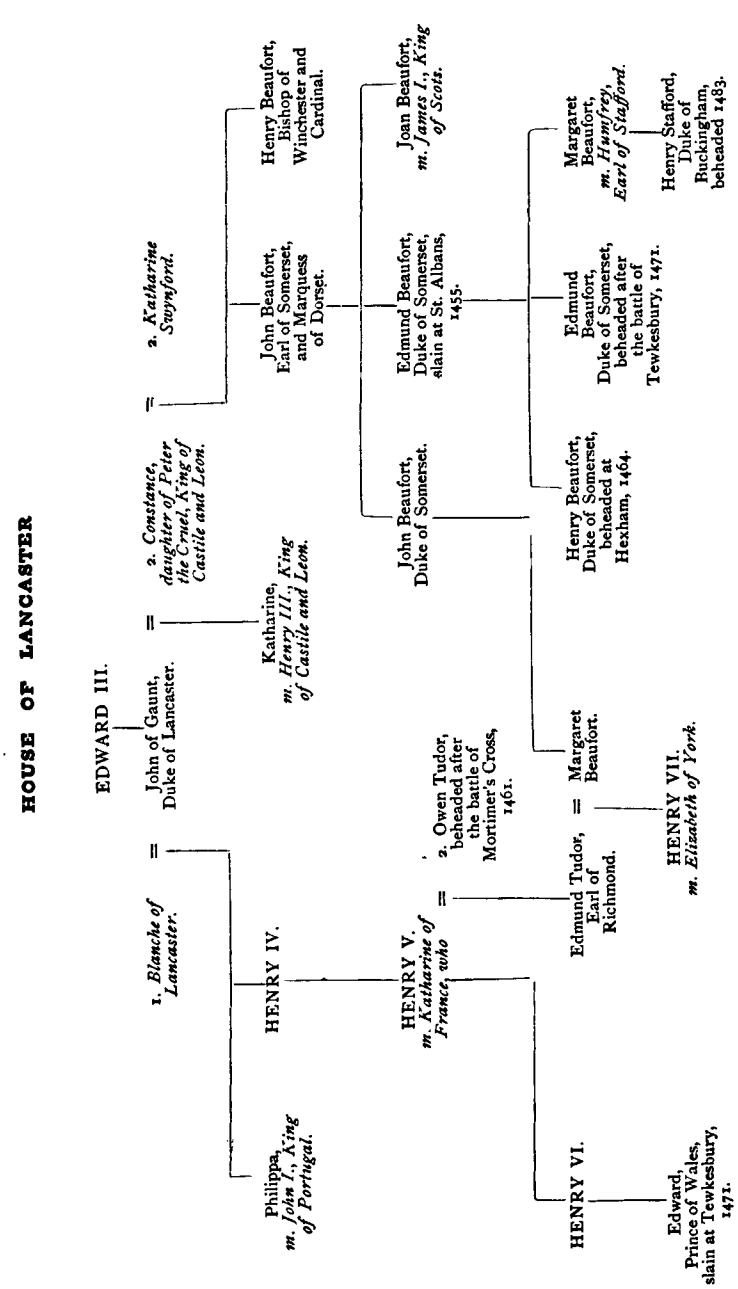
Descent of HENRY IV.



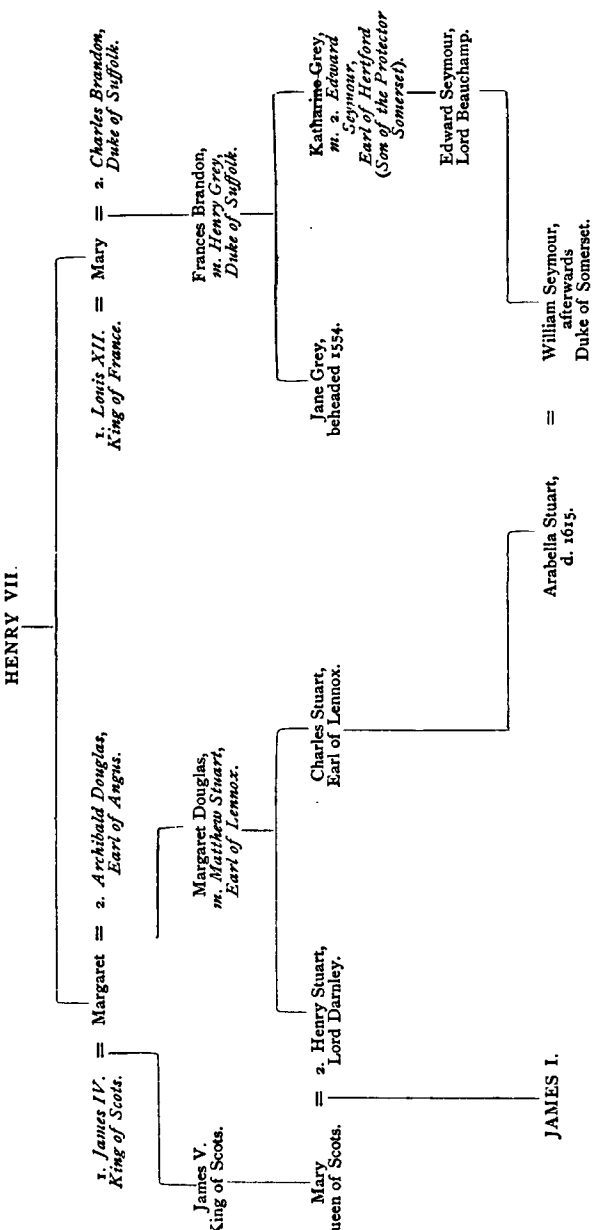
HOUSE OF YORK


EDWARD III.
Lionel, Duke of Clarence.
Philippa, m. Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.
Roger Mortimer, Earl of March.
Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, d. 1424.
Edmund of Langley, Duke of York.
Anne Mortimer = Richard, Earl of Cambridge, beheaded 1415.
Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, slain at Wakefield, 1460.
EDWARD IV.
Edmund, Earl of Rutland, slain at Wakefield, 1460.
George, Duke of Clarence, m. Isabel Neville.
RICHARD III. m. Anne Neville.
Elizabeth = John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk.
Margaret, m. Charles, Duke of Burgundy.
EDWARD V.
Richard, Duke of York.
Elizabeth, m. HENRY VII.
Katharine, m. Sir William Courtenay.
Edward, Earl of Warwick, beheaded 1499.
Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, beheaded 1541. m. Sir Richard Pole.
Edward, Prince of Wales, d. 1484.
John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, slain at Stoke, 1487.
Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, beheaded, 1513.
Richard de la Pole, slain at the battle of Pavia, 1525.
Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, beheaded 1539.
Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, d. 1556.
Henry Pole, Lord, Montacute, beheaded 1539.
Reginald Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Cardinal, d. 1558.

HOUSE OF LANCASTER

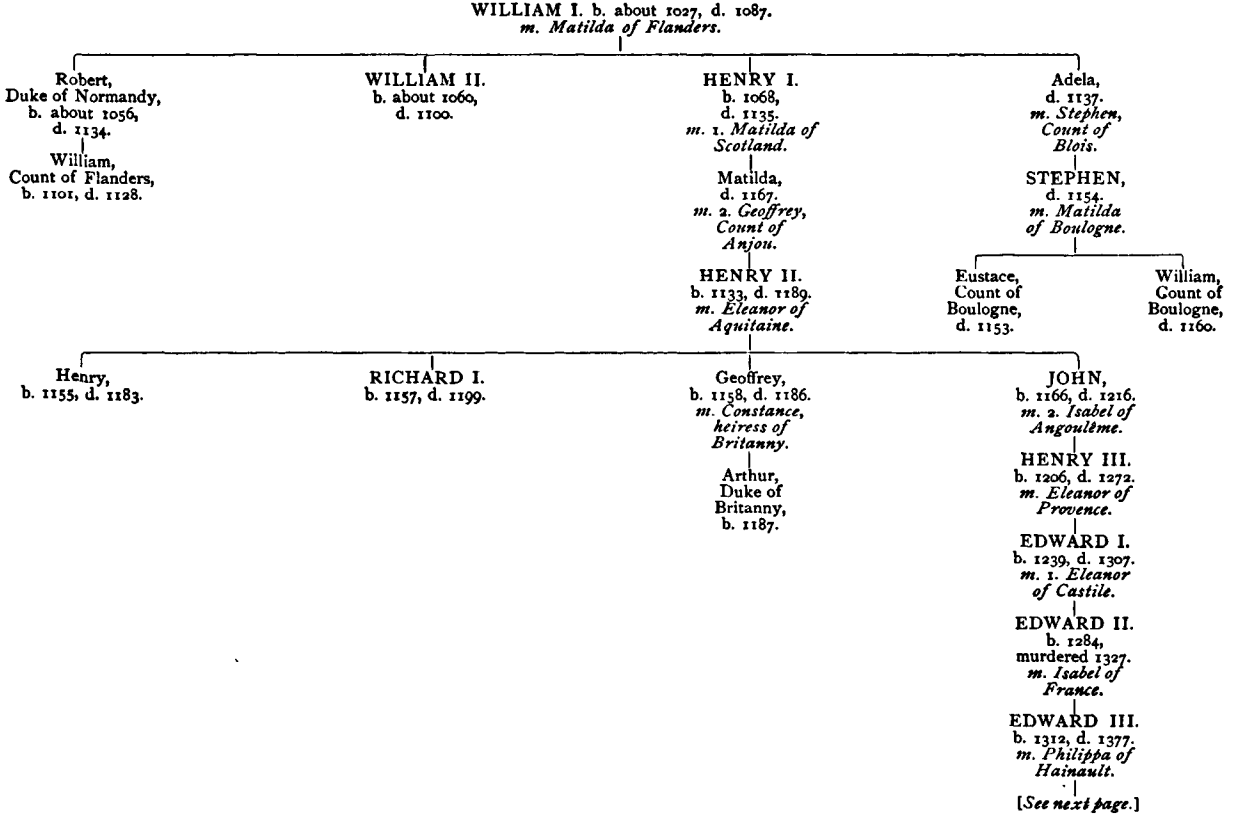

EDWARD III.
John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.
1. Blanche of Lancaster.
2. Constance, daughter of Peter the Cruel, King of Castile and Leon.
2. Katharine Swynford.
Katharine, m. Henry III., King of Castile and Leon.
John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, and Marquess of Dorset.
Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester and Cardinal.
Philippa, m. John I., King of Portugal.
HENRY IV.
HENRY V. m. Katharine of France, who
2. Owen Tudor, beheaded after the battle of Mortimer's Cross, 1461.
John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset.
Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, slain at St. Albans, 1455.
Joan Beaufort, m. James I., King of Scots.
Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond.
Margaret Beaufort.
Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, beheaded at Hexham, 1464.
Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, beheaded after the battle of Tewkesbury, 1471.
Margaret Beaufort, m. Humfrey, Earl of Stafford.
HENRY VI.
HENRY VII. m. Elizabeth of York.
Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, beheaded 1483.
Edward, Prince of Wales, slain at Tewkesbury, 1471.

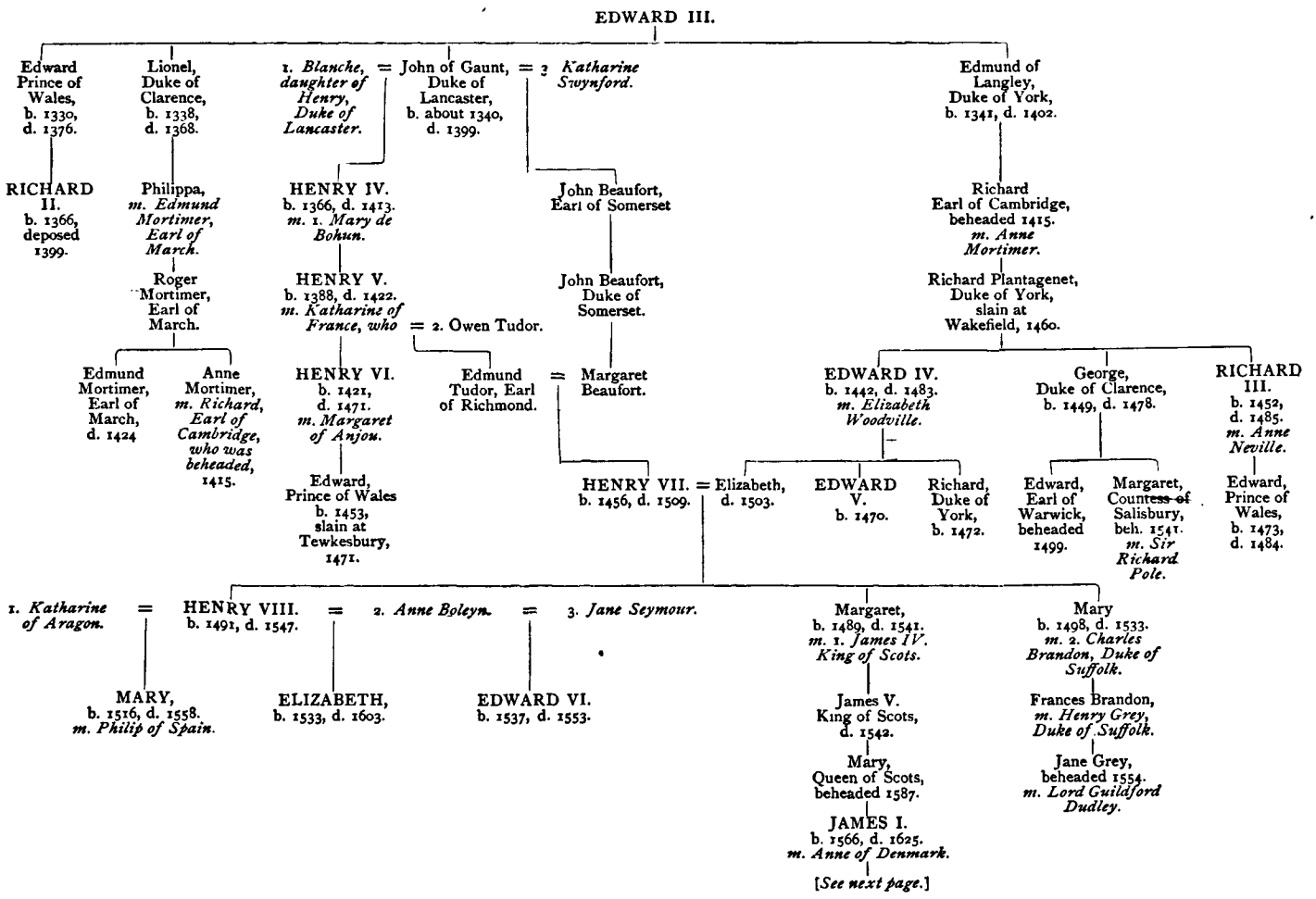
DESCENDANTS OF THE DAUGHTERS OF HENRY VII.


HENRY VII.
1. James IV. King of Scots. = Margaret = 2. Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus.
1. Louis XII. King of France. = Mary = 2. Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.
James V. King of Scots.
Margaret Douglas, m. Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox.
Frances Brandon, m. Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk.
Mary Queen of Scots. = 2. Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley.
Charles Stuart, Earl of Lennox.
Jane Grey, beheaded 1554.
Katharine Grey, m. 2. Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford (Son of the Protector Somerset).
Arabella Stuart, d. 1615.
Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp.
JAMES I.
= William Seymour, afterwards Duke of Somerset.

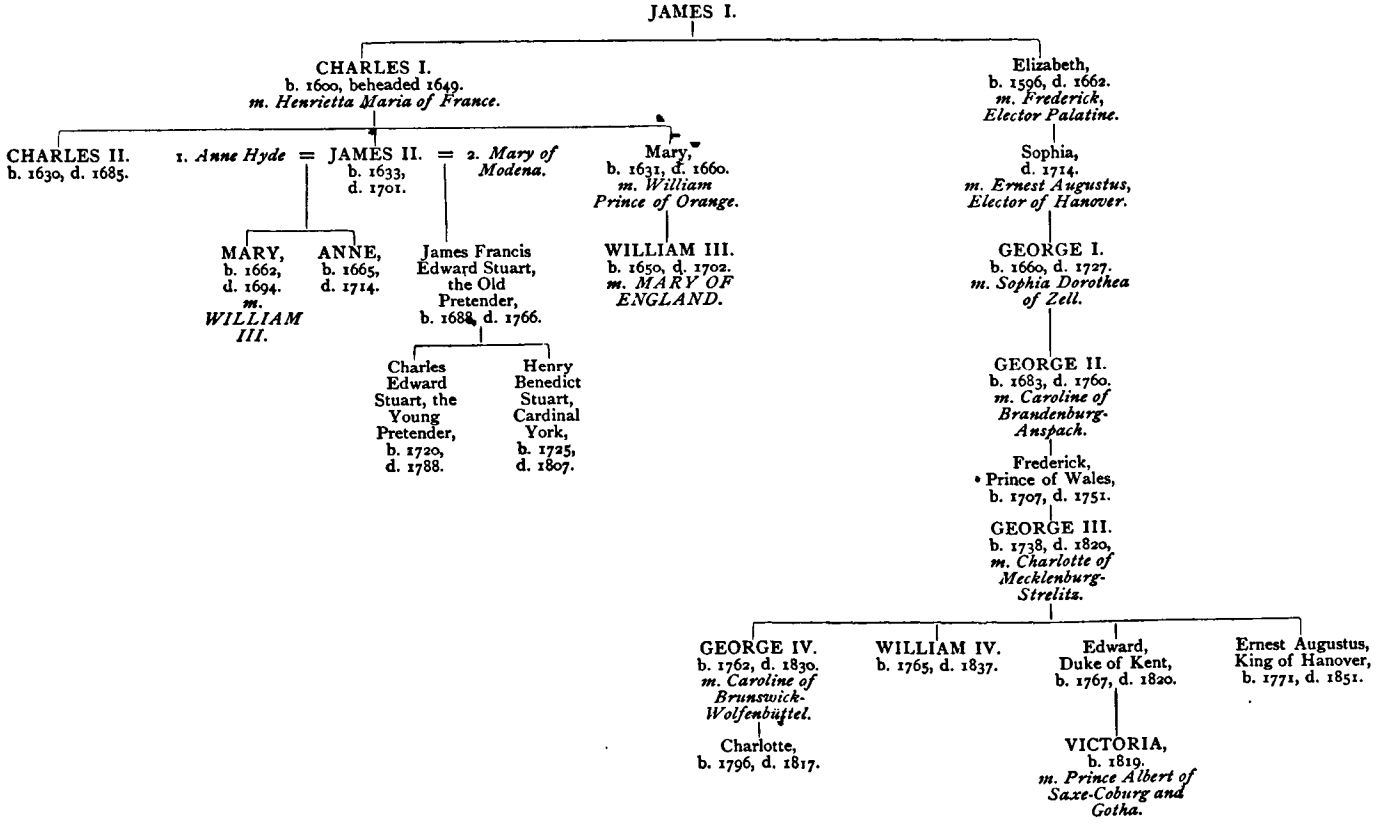
THE SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND

Since the Norman Conquest


WILLIAM I. b. about 1027, d. 1087.
m. Matilda of Flanders.
Robert, Duke of Normandy, b. about 1056, d. 1134.
William, Count of Flanders, b. 1101, d. 1128.
WILLIAM II. b. about 1060, d. 1100.
HENRY I. b. 1068, d. 1135.
m. 1. Matilda of Scotland.
Matilda, d. 1167.
m. 2. Geoffrey, Count of Anjou.
HENRY II. b. 1133, d. 1189.
m. Eleanor of Aquitaine.
Adela, d. 1137.
m. Stephen, Count of Blois.
STEPHEN, d. 1154.
m. Matilda of Boulogne.
Eustace, Count of Boulogne, d. 1153.
William, Count of Boulogne, d. 1160.
Henry, b. 1155, d. 1183.
RICHARD I. b. 1157, d. 1199.
Geoffrey, b. 1158, d. 1186.
m. Constance, heiress of Britanny.
Arthur, Duke of Britanny, b. 1187.
JOHN, b. 1166, d. 1216.
m. 2. Isabel of Angoulême.
HENRY III. b. 1206, d. 1272.
m. Eleanor of Provence.
EDWARD I. b. 1239, d. 1307.
m. 1. Eleanor of Castile.
EDWARD II. b. 1284, murdered 1327.
m. Isabel of France.
EDWARD III. b. 1312, d. 1377.
m. Philippa of Hainault.
[See next page.]


EDWARD III.
Edward Prince of Wales, b. 1330, d. 1376.
Lionel, Duke of Clarence, b. 1338, d. 1368.
1. Blanche, daughter of Henry, Duke of Lancaster.
John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, b. about 1340, d. 1399.
2 Katharine Swynford.
Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, b. 1341, d. 1402.
RICHARD II. b. 1366, deposed 1399.
Philippa, m. Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.
HENRY IV. b. 1366, d. 1413. m. 1. Mary de Bohun.
John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset
Richard Earl of Cambridge, beheaded 1415. m. Anne Mortimer.
Roger Mortimer, Earl of March.
HENRY V. b. 1388, d. 1422. m. Katharine of France, who
2. Owen Tudor.
John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset.
Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, slain at Wakefield, 1460.
Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, d. 1424
Anne Mortimer, m. Richard, Earl of Cambridge, who was beheaded, 1415.
HENRY VI. b. 1421, d. 1471. m. Margaret of Anjou.
Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond.
Margaret Beaufort.
EDWARD IV. b. 1442, d. 1483. m. Elizabeth Woodville.
George, Duke of Clarence, b. 1449, d. 1478.
RICHARD III. b. 1452, d. 1485. m. Anne Neville.
Edward, Prince of Wales b. 1453, slain at Tewkesbury, 1471.
HENRY VII. b. 1456, d. 1509.
Elizabeth, d. 1503.
EDWARD V. b. 1470.
Richard, Duke of York, b. 1472.
Edward, Earl of Warwick, beheaded 1499.
Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, beh. 1541. m. Sir Richard Pole.
Edward, Prince of Wales, b. 1473, d. 1484.
1. Katharine of Aragon.
HENRY VIII. b. 1491, d. 1547.
2. Anne Boleyn.
3. Jane Seymour.
Margaret, b. 1489, d. 1541. m. 1. James IV. King of Scots.
Mary b. 1498, d. 1533. m. 2. Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.
MARY, b. 1516, d. 1558. m. Philip of Spain.
ELIZABETH, b. 1533, d. 1603.
EDWARD VI. b. 1537, d. 1553.
James V. King of Scots, d. 1542.
Frances Brandon, m. Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk.
Mary, Queen of Scots, beheaded 1587.
Jane Grey, beheaded 1554. m. Lord Guildford Dudley.
JAMES I. b. 1566, d. 1625. m. Anne of Denmark.
[See next page.]

THE SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND—continued



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